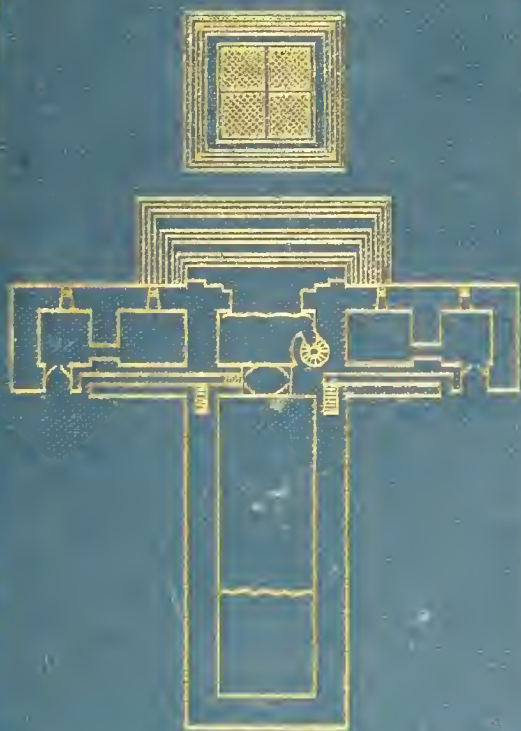


EROD'S TEMPLE
S NEW TESTAMENT
SOCIATIONS AND
ACTUAL STRUCTURE
W. SHAW CALDECOTT



CORNELL
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY



Cornell University Library
DS 109.3.C14H5

Herod's Temple :



3 1924 028 590 374

olin



Cornell University
Library

The original of this book is in
the Cornell University Library.

There are no known copyright restrictions in
the United States on the use of the text.

HEROD'S TEMPLE

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

THE TABERNACLE: Its History and Structure. With Preface by PROF. SAYCE, D.D. Second Edition. **5s.** Religious Tract Society, London.

"Exhausts the subject."—*Scotsman*.

"Interesting, unconventional and original."—*Record*.

"A monument of research."—*Birmingham Post*.

"Deeply interesting: a new departure."—*The Christian*.

SOLOMON'S TEMPLE: Its History and Structure. With Preface by PROF. SAYCE, D.D. Second Edition. **6s.** Religious Tract Society, London.

THE SECOND TEMPLE IN JERUSALEM: Its History and its Structure. Illustrated with two large Folding Plans, each measuring 20 ins. by 15 ins., and six other Maps and Plans. Demy 8vo. 412 pp. Published at **10s. 6d.** New Copies **5s.**

The Times Book Club, 376, Oxford Street, London, W.

"He presents a mass of information which cannot fail to be of service to every student of the Bible."—*Expository Times*.

"Painstaking, illustrative, and suggestive as its predecessors. It is instructive that an architect has been able to reproduce Ezekiel's design solely from the schedule of the ninety-six architectural measurements given by Ezekiel, which Mr. Caldecott has drawn up in his first appendix."—*British Weekly*.

LEAVES OF A LIFE. An Autobiography.

Crown 8vo. 208 pp. Paper covers, **1s.** net; cloth gilt, **2s.** net. Charles H. Kelly, 25-35, City Road, London, E.C.

SYNTHETIC STUDIES IN SCRIPTURE.

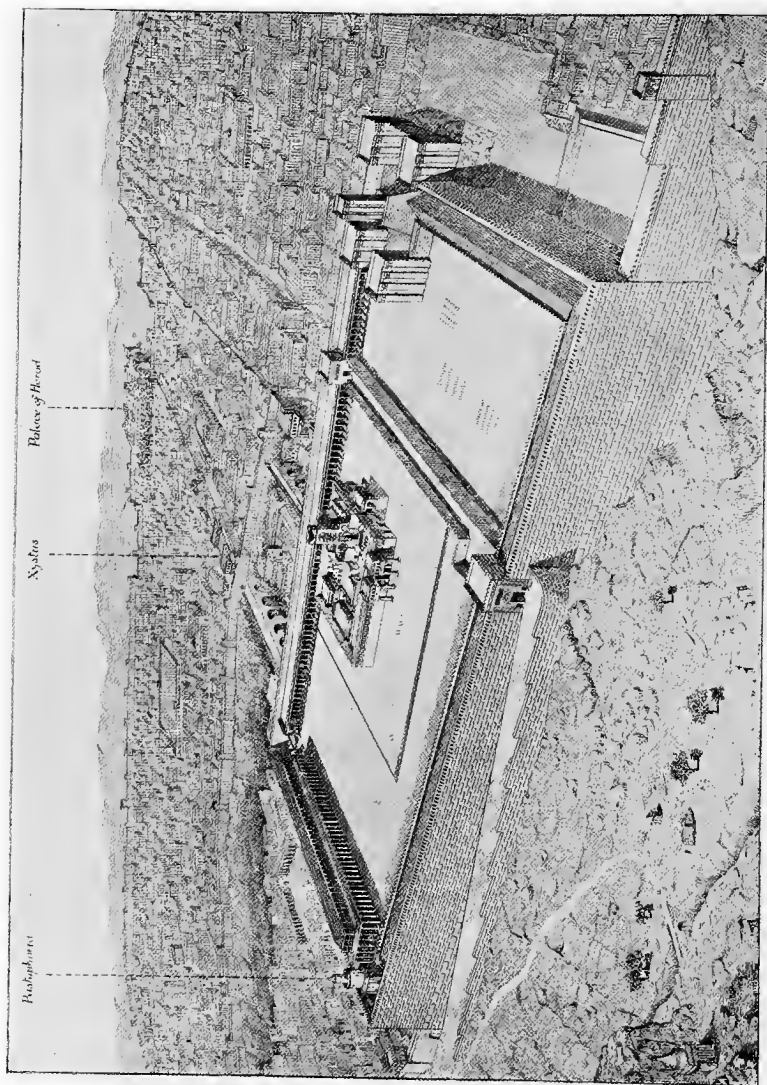
With an Introduction by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Durham. 200 pp. Paper boards, **2s. 6d.** net; cloth boards, **3s.** net.

From the Bishop's Introduction:—"I strongly commend this varied and suggestive collection of essays to the reader who desires, on the one hand, to be set thinking for himself about the literary and historical phenomena of the Holy Book; and, on the other, to have his conviction of its holiness and truth intelligently developed."

OUTLINE LECTURE ON HEROD'S TEMPLE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. With

Frontispiece in black and gold, and Photograph of the Author's Model of the Temple. 16 pp. Crown 8vo, **1s.**

This Model is on view in the Book Saloon at 25-35 City Road, London, E.C.



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF ANCIENT JERUSALEM FROM N.E., SHOWING HERODIAN TEMPLE
AND FORTRESS OF ANTONIA

HEROD'S TEMPLE

ITS NEW TESTAMENT ASSOCIATIONS AND ITS ACTUAL STRUCTURE

BY

W. SHAW CALDECOTT

AUTHOR OF

ART. 'TEMPLE' IN INTERNATIONAL STANDARD BIBLE ENCYCLOPÆDIA

I will not cease from mental fight,
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land.
Blake.

LONDON

CHARLES H. KELLY

25-35 CITY ROAD, AND 26 PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

TO THOSE
WHOSE DEVOTION TO THE
ANCIENT FAITH
MAY BE DEEPENED BY
MODERN RESEARCH
I DEDICATE THIS BOOK

P R E F A C E

IN the preparation of this book I have had some assistance. From materials supplied to him for each chapter, my literary friend, Mr. Henry T. Hooper, has written up nearly the whole of the first part. Readers will benefit by the temporary ailment of my eyes which has made this a necessity, as Mr. Hooper's light and graceful pen will enable them to appreciate some critical points of exegesis and of description which have arisen in the course of the narrative. At the same time I have retained full control of the manuscript, so that I alone am responsible for every statement in it.

If, in the previous three volumes of this series, we have what may be compared to the root, the stem, and the branch, in this fourth and last volume the flower is produced for which the others were brought into existence. Nothing would have repaid the labour of their preparation had not the writer had the theme of Herod's Temple in view, and had he not always hoped to end his researches in those holy courts where Jesus walked and talked.

With the issue of this volume my ten years' onerous and self-imposed task is done. The last of the series of books on the sacred building of the Jews now leaves my hand, and does not do so without carrying with it some reminiscent thoughts.

It was on retiring from the active work of the Christian Ministry that I found myself with broken health, unable to do much more than turn over the leaves of my study Bible. A series of coincidences—some would call them providences—led me to study the metrology of the book, with the result that I arrived at the conclusion that the Biblical cubit had three distinct lengths, each one of which had a specific application which was never departed from. Having found a theoretical key, what so natural as to ascertain if it would fit the wards of a lock the bolt of which had been shot for centuries? First experiments having been hopeful, other steps were taken, each of which tended to confirm my faith in the measures of the Senkereh Babylonian tablet and of the scale of King Gudea's palace as being those used in Palestine. To the Temple courts I gave a cubit of a foot and a half; to the Temple buildings a cubit of a foot and a fifth, and to the golden furniture of the Sanctuary, a sacred cubit of nine-tenths of a foot. The data I had to work upon with these lengths, respectively, of 18, 14·4, and 10·8 inches, were the particulars in Exodus of the

Tabernacle, the 40 measures of Solomon's Temple, the 100 of Ezekiel's plan of the second Temple, and the 150 of the Herodian Temple, taken from Josephus and the Talmud. All these have now been co-ordinated and architecturally applied, with the result that no essential corrections have been found necessary in the Biblical records themselves, and no impossible demand is made by any of them on the builder or reconstructor. Whether this accumulation of evidence is sufficient to convince the archæologist—who is usually as shy of a new theorem as a nightingale is of a fowling-piece—remains to be seen.

To myself, while elaborating the process of reconstruction—in itself a delightful work—the argument has seemed to gain strength, and I have felt like the builder of an arch of which the beauty and strength would not be seen until the keystone had been put in place. This monograph on Herod's Temple is such a keystone, and it is with mingled feelings of regret at parting with an old friend and of hope that I have contributed to the solution of a great problem that I now take leave of my work.

W. S. C.

SILVER HOW,
WEST CLIFF GARDENS,
BOURNEMOUTH.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORICAL ENVIRONMENT

- The documents—Josephus and Christianity—Pharisees—
 Sadducees—Essenes—Formulative history from 135 B.C.—
 Roman overlordship—A temple court the focus of Jewish
 social life—Synagogues Page 28

CHAPTER V

PROCESS AND PROGRESS OF THE BUILDING

- The Messianic expectation—Herod a poor substitute—*Naos*
 built by priests in uniform—What that uniform was—
 Stone from the royal quarries—No mortar used—The inner
 and outer veils of the *Naos*—Its completion—Wholesome
 Jewish views of labour—Building of the *Hieron*—Plundering
 of David's sepulchre—The affair of the golden eagle 39

CHAPTER VI

THE HOPE OF ISRAEL

- Benefits of mingling with New Testament people—Analogies
 of parish church deceptive—First scene in the Temple—The
 Zacharias story—Defence of Luke's mention of Cyrenius—
 Presentation of Jesus in the Temple—A descendant of David
 —Slaughter of the Holy Innocents—Accession of Archelaus
 and the return to Nazareth 50

CHAPTER VII

THE MINISTRY OF JESUS IN JERUSALEM

- Mildness of Roman provincial rule—The boy Jesus in the
Hieron—The Teaching Ministry of Jesus in Temple begins
 —A festival mart held in the great Portico—Jesus' expulsion
 of the hucksters—Discussion on the saying, 'Destroy this
Naos' 62

CHAPTER VIII

THE NEW TEACHING

- Characteristics of the new teaching—Instances of its incidental
 and sporadic nature—Jesus' farewell visit to the Temple—
 Pharisees and publicans seen by Him there—His apocalyptic
 vision of the Temple's fall 78

CONTENTS

xi

CHAPTER IX

JESUS BEFORE THE SANHEDRIN

The arrest—The first trial, before Annas—Peter's place at each of his denials of Jesus—The adjuration of the High Priest, Caiaphas—The prisoner found guilty of blasphemy—New charges against Him formulated for Pilate . . . Page 92

CHAPTER X

JESUS BEFORE PILATE

The charge of sedition fails—Barabbas offered as an alternative victim—Scourging and ridicule of the prisoner tried—Charges of disloyalty and treason made against Him—Threats of complaint to Rome—Pilate yields—Removal of the tribunal chair to the Temple pavement—Sentence pronounced 105

CHAPTER XI

THE TEMPLE IN APOSTOLIC TIMES

Solomon's Portico the place of Pentecost—A scene at the Nicanor Gate of this Portico—Roman officers, Petronius and Cumanus—The affair of Agrippa's lounge—Paul's last visit to Jerusalem—Arrested on a false charge—A stone of the *Soreg* lately discovered 114

CHAPTER XII

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

The Lord's brother elected president of the Church—Party of the Zealots increasingly active—Rapid succession of Roman procurators—Additional troops marched to Jerusalem—Zealots occupy a part of the Temple—Civil war follows—The three parties in Jerusalem 129

CHAPTER XIII

THE END OF THE TEMPLE

Ultimate causes of the war—The Passover of A.D. 70—First attack of Titus ineffectual—Fall of the Antonia tower—The enclosure of the Temple stormed—Its gates burned—Date of the Temple fall—The western city taken—Closing scenes—Some existing relics of the Temple 143

PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES FOR THIS VOLUME

Greek New Testament.

Revised Version of English Bible.

'Survey of Western Palestine.' 7 vols. Palestine Exploration Fund, London.

Middoth, or Measurements of the Temple (reprinted in an appendix).

The Works of Flavius Josephus. 5 vols. Bohn's Library. Whiston's translation, revised by Shillito, with topographical notes by Wilson.

(The 'Antiquities' are indicated by *Ant.*, and the 'Jewish War' by *War.*)

CONTENTS

PREFACE	Page v
-------------------	--------

PART I

ITS NEW TESTAMENT ASSOCIATIONS

CHAPTER I

HEROD THE GREAT, KING OF THE JEWS

His contradictory character and remarkable career—Typical incidents of his life—A favourite of Rome—Places his tribunal chair near the Temple Gates—His magnificence, his splendour, his extravagance—Jewish resentment . . .	I
---	---

CHAPTER II

WHY AND HOW HEROD BUILT THE TEMPLE

Built to conciliate his subjects and to glorify himself—The existing Temple variously despoiled—It had no royal apartment—And no Gentile court—Herod's diplomatic speech—Jewish objections, how dealt with—The Temple hill—Site prepared—Workmen and materials—Finance . . .	10
--	----

CHAPTER III

HIERON AND NAOS

Ruling ideas, embodied in structure, were those of reverence in worship and classification of worshippers—A fivefold gradation secured by a fivefold delimitation—The New Testament terms used to express this— <i>Naos</i> in some passages, <i>Hieron</i> in others—The case of Judas as exemplifying this	19
--	----

CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORICAL ENVIRONMENT

- The documents—Josephus and Christianity—Pharisees—
Sadducees—Essenes—Formulative history from 135 B.C.—
Roman overlordship—A temple court the focus of Jewish
social life—Synagogues Page 28

CHAPTER V

PROCESS AND PROGRESS OF THE BUILDING

- The Messianic expectation—Herod a poor substitute—*Naos*
built by priests in uniform—What that uniform was—
Stone from the royal quarries—No mortar used—The inner
and outer veils of the *Naos*—Its completion—Wholesome
Jewish views of labour—Building of the *Hieron*—Plundering
of David's sepulchre—The affair of the golden eagle 39

CHAPTER VI

THE HOPE OF ISRAEL

- Benefits of mingling with New Testament people—Analogies
of parish church deceptive—First scene in the Temple—The
Zacharias story—Defence of Luke's mention of Cyrenius—
Presentation of Jesus in the Temple—A descendant of David
—Slaughter of the Holy Innocents—Accession of Archelaus
and the return to Nazareth 50

CHAPTER VII

THE MINISTRY OF JESUS IN JERUSALEM

- Mildness of Roman provincial rule—The boy Jesus in the
Hieron—The Teaching Ministry of Jesus in Temple begins
—A festival mart held in the great Portico—Jesus' expulsion
of the hucksters—Discussion on the saying, 'Destroy this
Naos' 62

CHAPTER VIII

THE NEW TEACHING

- Characteristics of the new teaching—Instances of its incidental
and sporadic nature—Jesus' farewell visit to the Temple—
Pharisees and publicans seen by Him there—His apocalyptic
vision of the Temple's fall 78

CONTENTS

xi

CHAPTER IX

JESUS BEFORE THE SANHEDRIN

The arrest—The first trial, before Annas—Peter's place at each of his denials of Jesus—The adjuration of the High Priest, Caiaphas—The prisoner found guilty of blasphemy—New charges against Him formulated for Pilate Page 92

CHAPTER X

JESUS BEFORE PILATE

The charge of sedition fails—Barabbas offered as an alternative victim—Scourging and ridicule of the prisoner tried—Charges of disloyalty and treason made against Him—Threats of complaint to Rome—Pilate yields—Removal of the tribunal chair to the Temple pavement—Sentence pronounced 105

CHAPTER XI

THE TEMPLE IN APOSTOLIC TIMES

Solomon's Portico the place of Pentecost—A scene at the Nicanor Gate of this Portico—Roman officers, Petronius and Cumanus—The affair of Agrippa's lounge—Paul's last visit to Jerusalem—Arrested on a false charge—A stone of the *Soreg* lately discovered 114

CHAPTER XII

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

The Lord's brother elected president of the Church—Party of the Zealots increasingly active—Rapid succession of Roman procurators—Additional troops marched to Jerusalem—Zealots occupy a part of the Temple—Civil war follows—The three parties in Jerusalem 129

CHAPTER XIII

THE END OF THE TEMPLE

Ultimate causes of the war—The Passover of A.D. 70—First attack of Titus ineffectual—Fall of the Antonia tower—The enclosure of the Temple stormed—Its gates burned—Date of the Temple fall—The western city taken—Closing scenes—Some existing relics of the Temple 143

CHAPTER XIV

THE TEMPLE IN CHRISTIAN THOUGHT

Terminology of St. Paul—In Galatians—In Ephesians—In Philippians—The Temple in James' epistle—In Hebrews—In Peter i. and ii.—In Revelation—Judaism <i>versus</i> Universal Christianity—The abiding lesson of the Mosaic dispensation	Page 160
---	----------

PART II

THE STRUCTURE OF HEROD'S TEMPLE

CHAPTER XV

OUR SOURCES OF KNOWLEDGE

Josephus as a man and as an historian—The general correctness of his description of the Temple—Origin and probable date of the tractate <i>Middoth</i> —Its value to the Biblical archæologist—Lightfoot's Plan misleading—M. Ganneau and Dr. Long on the Warning Stone of Herod's Temple—Their practical agreement—Its measures those of the Greek foot	172
--	-----

CHAPTER XVI

AREA AND LEVELS OF THE TEMPLE

Site <i>datum</i> from which the area is calculated—Duplication of area in each succeeding building—Ultimately an enclosed space of 300 feet square—One-fourth of this space reserved for use of proselytes—Height <i>datum</i> from which the levels are calculated—Levels show variations of twelve feet in different parts of the Temple	183
---	-----

CHAPTER XVII

THE THIRTEEN GATES OF THE ENCLOSURE

The Enclosure wall behind the Temple, its distance away—Three gates recognized in its north and in its south sides—A fourth unnamed gate there on either side—The ninth, Nicanor, the 'Beautiful Gate' of Acts—The gates identified—Notes: (1) The Beautiful Gate of the Temple; (2) The women's gates of exit	194
--	-----

CONTENTS

xiii

CHAPTER XVIII

TWO ANCIENT GATES ON MORIAH

The Sushan Gate, now the Golden Gate—The Gate of the Sanctuary facing the Golden Gate—This the 'Sheep Gate' of Nehemiah and John—A roadway or street connected these two gates—This street shown in map of twelfth century Page 211

CHAPTER XIX

THE TEMPLE TERRACE, OR *CHEL*

The *Chel* of Ezekiel's Temple plan a square of 750 feet—The *Chel* of Herod's Temple a square of 600 feet—Given by Josephus as 'a furlong' square—Within this square was the smaller square of the 'Ir Enclosure—Without was the larger square of 'The Mountain of the House'—These names extended to small spaces within the 'Ir Enclosure . . . 226

CHAPTER XX

THE ROYAL PORTICO AND ITS WESTERN APPROACH

Site of the *Stoa basilica* now occupied by the el-Aksa mosque—Its cross measures those of the remains of Robinson's bridge—The Pastophoria—Origin of the name and uses of the Pastophorian 241

CHAPTER XXI

THE DOUBLE PORTICOES, OR OUTERMOST TEMPLE

Five furlongs in length—Their distribution—Their floriated capitals—Completion of the Temple delayed—Pillars round the Dome of the Rock—Barclay's, Wilson's, and Warren's Gates 252

CHAPTER XXII

THE GREAT MOAT NORTH OF THE TEMPLE

The Temple and city defences distinct—The Temple area unprotected by walls on one side—Strabo's mention of a fosse on the north of Moriah—Remains of the moat still seen—Its original dimensions 266

CHAPTER XXIII

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE MIDDLE OR GREATER *SOREG*

Its exact position within the Enclosure—Its thirteen lengths of brickwork—*Opus reticulatum*—Its 'pillars' and Warning Stones—Legal basis of its erection—The three *Soregs* Page 275

CHAPTER XXIV

THE TEMPLE OR *HIERON*

Its position to the south of the *Naos*—Line of the wall dividing the two—The Square of the Women's Court—Its corner chambers and their several uses—Its social uses—Named 'The Treasury'—Attained by fifteen steps from the *Soreg*—Its other steps—Sundry chambers outside the Women's Court 282

CHAPTER XXV

THE TEMPLE OR *NAOS*: ITS SUBSIDIARY PORTIONS

Meaning of *naos* to Greek-speaking Hebrews—The two courts for worshippers—The *duchan* or pulpit in which the Law was read—The steps and the broad landing immediately before the Temple—The altar—The *pronaos*—The store-rooms—The Treasuries—The Golden Vine 296

CHAPTER XXVI

THE TEMPLE OR *NAOS*, CONTINUED: ITS ALTAR AND SACRIFICIAL SYSTEM

An abundant water supply—The cleanly carrying out of the sacrificial system—Sundry chambers on the north side of the Temple—The Beth Moked and its four small chambers—Titus' attempted breach made at gate No. 5—The Great Altar of Sacrifice 309

CHAPTER XXVII

THE TEMPLE OR *NAOS*, CONTINUED: THE HOLY CHAMBERS

Their size and appearance—Their upper story—Three tiers of priests' rooms—Their flat roofs—The gabled roof of the Temple—Police galleries—The window by which the Temple was fired—Note on a Subway to the *Naos* 320

CONTENTS

XV

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE TEMPLE WATER SUPPLY

A single spring of water at Jerusalem—The Siloam tunnel— Solomon's pools, and the lower aqueduct—The upper aque- duct—The blood passage and other drain exits on the Haram	Page 330
---	----------

CHAPTER XXIX

THE SAKHRAH STONE

Key to the entire system of the Temple—A part of the ridge of Moriah—Its size and appearance—Shows traces of chisel work—The basin on its surface—The square recess at its south-west corner—Its history before, during, and after the Crusades—The threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite— The platform on which the Temple altars stood—The horns of the altar—' The stone which the builders rejected '	338
---	-----

APPENDICES

I. Schedule of Specifications	355
II. <i>Middoth</i> , or the measurements of the Temple, with extracts from the commentary of Rabbi Obadiah	371
INDEX	389

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PART I

- | | |
|--|------------------------|
| 1. The Temple of Herod—Bird's-eye view from the North-East | <i>Frontispiece</i> |
| 2. Photograph of Curule Chair | <i>facing page 111</i> |
| 3. Hinge of an ancient city gate | 154 |
| 4. Panel from the Arch of Titus in Rome | 158 |

PART II

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 5. Capitals supporting the Dome of the Rock | 256 |
| 6. Photograph of Golden Gate in Jerusalem | 265 |
| 7. Photo of Greek masonry and described representation of <i>Soreg</i> wall | 277 |
| 8. The Sakhrah, viewed from the North-West corner | 340 |
| 9. Surface cutting on Sakhrah | 342 |
| 10. The Sakhrah in Solomon's Temple | 346 |
| The Sakhrah in Ezekiel's Temple | 346 |

LARGE PLANS

(In pocket of cover)

- | |
|---|
| 11. Ground Plan of Herod's Temple, with façade and cross sections. |
| 12. Mount Moriah in the time of Christ, showing site of Herod's Temple. |

[These two plans are detached for more convenient reference and are necessary for constant use during reading.]

HEROD'S TEMPLE

PART I

ITS NEW TESTAMENT ASSOCIATIONS

CHAPTER I

HEROD THE GREAT, KING OF THE JEWS

THE writer of the briefest character-sketch of Herod the Great has no easy task. Herod's descent, which was Idumean rather than Jewish, suggests contrary forces at work in the formation of his character, but is hardly sufficient to suggest, and still less to account for, the bewilderingly varied and even contrary phases of his many-sided nature. He married ten wives and murdered the one of them to whom he was most ardently attached. He adorned Jerusalem with buildings, and ordered that its leading men should be slain at his death so that mourning in the city should be real. He was magnificent for physical strength and beauty, and was a mere wild beast for passionate ferocity. 'He was, in short,' as Renan says, 'a majestic animal, a lion whose great neck and heavy mane are the things that count, and in whom you do not look for any moral sense.'

Early in his singularly variegated career, while Governor of Galilee, he was summoned before the Sanhedrin on a charge of sacrilegious murder. In the laudable pursuit of his determination to root out a gang of robbers he had had the misfortune to find on killing its leader that he had committed the offence of killing a priest, a renegade priest, it is true, but nevertheless a priest. On the capital charge for this deed, he presented himself to the Sanhedrin with a bodyguard and wearing a purple robe in regal fashion over his armour, the hair of his head finely trimmed, moreover, for the occasion. It is not surprising that so embarrassing a culprit was allowed to escape without punishment. The incident was typical. One is never quite sure whether one is dealing with a superb king or a base assassin when one is reading the story of this man. The final, if unsatisfactory, verdict must be that he was both the one and the other.

While Herod was still a child of six (he was born in 71 B.C.), Judæa had already become an integral part of the Roman Empire, after eighty years of independence. It must therefore be remembered in explanation, if not in extenuation, of his policy, that he had always before him the difficult problem of conciliating the Jews on the one hand and pleasing his Roman masters on the other. He was but fifteen years old (if we may believe Josephus) when he became Governor of Galilee, the first step in his career. The Galileans soon saw that he was a violent and bold man, and very desirous of acting tyrannically and in disdainful independence of the Sanhedrin. The mother of one of those that had already been slain by him was naturally among the first to complain of him, and

she with others continued every day in the Temple (the then existing second temple) exciting and persuading the people. Hence arose the abortive prosecution already spoken of, after which the youthful governor allowed himself to be persuaded that for the moment it was sufficient to have made a show of his strength before the nation.

For the next half-dozen years or so he appears to have managed political matters so well that at least some of the younger men among the Jews were found ready to recommend him to Rome for the office of tetrarch. He was indeed in need of some such advancement, for the Parthian enemies of Rome had ousted him from the Northern governorship, or were on the point of doing so. No enemy of his could be so hard-hearted as not to commiserate his evil fortune in being forced to set his wives upon beasts, as also his mother and sister, and the beautiful Hasmonean, Mariamne, whom he was about to marry, and carry them off furtively to Idumea for safety. In spite of his courageous words to them, he was once so despondent as to be about to kill himself upon the overthrow of a wagon which nearly killed his mother upon the road. Some of his followers, however, dissuaded him from this too summary ending of his career, and so the whole party arrived safely at the fortress of Masada (now *Sebbeh*) at the southern end of the Dead Sea, not, however, without danger from the attacks of Jews along the route who were not his friends. Years afterwards he built an excellent palace, and a city round about it, on a spot where he had overcome their attack.

Not long after this escape he had reason to con-

gratulate himself that he had not put an end to his life, for a sudden turn of fortune made it agreeable to Rome to appoint him King of Judæa in the year 40 B.C. To be appointed by the Romans was, however, not synonymous with being accepted by the Jews. The Maccabean dynasty was still nominally in power, and the memory of its glorious deeds during one hundred and twenty years was still cherished by the Jewish people. Of course, Herod was confident that, with Rome behind him, the Jews would not long be able to repudiate him. In order to hasten their acquiescence he now took the step of marrying (in addition to whatever wives he may have had already) the beautiful Maccabean princess Mariamne, a step which we may well believe was as much dictated by his inclination as by his policy. A desultory civil strife followed, and within three years the Maccabean ruler, Antigonus, was slain, Jerusalem was captured, and Herod found himself master of a capital in ruins and of a people which detested him—'being himself of no more than a vulgar family, and of no eminent extraction, but one that was subject to other kings,' as Josephus is careful to remind us.

The early Hebrew Kings had held their judicial courts outside the eastern gate of the Temple. When Herod became King some alteration of this position became necessary by reason of the fact that he was not a Jew by birth, a case which contravened the law of Deuteronomy xvii. 15. A compromise was effected by which his court was situated at the southern gate and outside of it. Here he administered a rough justice in the open air after the manner of Eastern monarchs generally. Following this precedent, Pontius

Pilate in later years held his court in the same place. The place came to be known later as Gabbatha, or The Pavement.

Herod set himself without delay to administer in Jerusalem what was at best but a crude form of justice, and not that of the ancient law. He spoiled the wealthy men on behalf of his own friends; he slew forty-five of the principal men of the party of Antigonus; and he took care that a high priest whom he himself appointed should be murdered in a little time. No doubt he extended his influence, geographically, even so far as to become governor of the Arabs and to add several cities to his realm, but he seems to have known only two ways to power—blood and flattery. Mariamne herself became so disgusted at the constant butchery which went on that she could no longer endure his flattery. It hardly needs be added that neither her excellent character and greatness of soul nor Herod's passionate if intermittent attachment to her was sufficient to save her life. After her death the infatuated King raved as madly in his remorse as he had formerly done in his accusations. He was magnificent throughout—magnificent in his reiterated cruelty, magnificent in his greed, magnificent in his expenditure upon the embellishment of Jerusalem and other cities. His Massacre of the Innocents¹ and his rebuilding of the Temple are the incongruous but appropriate memorials of his singular life. As death began to approach he coloured his hair black and endeavoured to conceal his age; moreover, he grew fierce, and

¹ The common way of dating years requires readjustment; and, though it is now too late to alter the calendar, we must regard the year 4-3 B.C. as the year of our Lord's birth.

indulged the bitterest anger upon all occasions or none ; he once more had thoughts of killing himself with his own hand, but raised himself upon his elbow to order his son to be slain instead ; and five days afterwards he died, in his seventieth year and in the thirty-seventh year of his actual reign, leaving nine wives to bewail his loss as they might be able.

This, then, was the man who, in the ways of Providence, was destined to build that Temple whose courts were trodden by our Lord and His disciples. Herod had a passion for building and embellishing temples, castles, theatres, cities, and harbours ; and it is satisfactory to note that this was amongst the more laudable, or, at all events, the less reprehensible, phases of his activity ; though there is no doubt that this also intensified, if that were possible, the hatred of the Jews towards him, because of the lavish expenditure involved. He appears to have begun, in 25 B.C., by building a theatre at Jerusalem, as also a very great amphitheatre for the celebration of ' solemn games ' every fifth year in honour of Cæsar. Not even the solemnity of these pagan games seems to have recommended them to the Jewish people, little accustomed to naked wrestlers and chariot races and gladiators fighting with wild beasts.

Indeed, Herod did not anticipate the pleasing of anybody but his Roman masters in this instance, unless it were the pleasing of himself by public demonstrations of his own grandeur and munificence. For the safety of the people he fortified Strato's Tower, but renamed it Cæsarea, for obvious reasons ; and for his own safety he rebuilt the fortress Antonia in

Jerusalem and another fortress in Samaria, which he called *Sebaste Augustan*, hence the present Turkish name *Sebastieh*, and encompassed the northern capital with a wall of great strength. Moreover, he built there a sacred temple to Augustus and adorned it with many decorations. Ruins of the colonnade of this temple still remain and are visible on the long, isolated hill of Samaria, covered as it is with terraces of olive trees. As soon as his resources would permit he built himself a palace in Jerusalem,¹ raising the rooms to a very great height, and adorning them with costly furniture of gold and stones and rich paintings. Once more he turns his attention to Cæsarea and began to carry out the idea of making it a city of white stone. He also made a harbour there, wherein great fleets might lie in safety. This he effected by letting down vast stones 'of above fifty feet in length by eighteen in breadth and nine in depth,' and upon piers of these he erected buildings of polished stone with a temple of Cæsar and twin statues of Cæsar and Rome by way of beacons or landmarks. On the shore and in view of the sea he built a vast amphitheatre and also a theatre of stone. During twelve years Herod laboured to make Cæsarea a town that should be a Syrian rival of Athens, and Josephus naïvely adds that he did not fail to pay the charges. It became, at all events, the most important city in Palestine in the estimation of all but the Jewish people, and was the principal garrison of Rome in

¹ This palace, which stood south of the Jaffa Gate, was protected on its northern side by three towers named Hippicus, Phasælus, and Mariamne. These towers were spared by Titus on the fall of the city. Remains of two of them are still visible; one, bearing the name of the Tower of David, is familiar to all visitors to Jerusalem.

Syria. To this day the sea has protected some of Herod's great blocks of stone which were intended to be a barrier against its waves, and the foundations of the Temple of Cæsar are still visible. The amphitheatre is still there, and still looks towards the sea. But the building of temples seems to have been the favourite hobby of the King. The source of the Jordan was marked by him with a temple which he dedicated to Cæsar, and he now at last began the great work of the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem. Meanwhile he honoured his father's memory by building the eponymous city Antipatris (Acts xxiii. 31), and his mother's in like manner with another city which he called Cypros. His brother Phasæl also is commemorated by him in a city and the Jerusalem tower. In Greece as well as in Syria he built public works, at Rhodes, at Nicopolis, at Actium, at Antioch—for all of which he paid. Even Josephus is constrained to have respect for his magnificence and to admit that he had a nature vastly beneficent, in strange contrast with his unrelenting brutishness in raising money to pay for buildings in order to perpetuate the memory of his own greatness. For at least five-and-twenty years of his reign he was engaged in building operations which would be notable even in our times and with our engineering appliances; his vast blocks of stone were sometimes brought long distances to the spot where he needed them; the numbers of his workmen would tax the administrative skill of a modern employer of labour; and his wantonly luxurious embellishments might well be the envy of an American millionaire of the twentieth century. For such a man the rebuilding of the Jewish Temple was a congenial

occupation, and would demand little of religious sentiment or enthusiasm to stimulate his operations. His figure on the page of history is that of a picturesque and royal ruffian, with an insatiable mania for building.

CHAPTER II

WHY AND HOW HEROD BUILT THE TEMPLE

IT has already become apparent that Herod was afflicted with what was nothing less than a mania for architecture on the grand scale. That was his way of erecting the enduring monument of his own magnificence, and it has not failed of its purpose. The buried and unburied remains of Jerusalem and Cæsarea are to this day the unmistakable memorial of a man of great conceptions and marvellous powers. Greek ideas of munificent and ornate architecture can have had few more ardent exponents than Herod. But his ideas were a good deal too Greek to commend them to his Jewish subjects. It was obviously necessary to conciliate them as well as to conform his aims to those of the great world-powers of his time. Nothing, therefore, was more natural than that he should undertake the restoration of the Temple. Was he not himself, at all events, a Jewish proselyte? The Temple restoration would do even more than combine in itself the whole of the various aims which he had kept before him in his other temples, his cities, his castles, and his hippodromes. He would be at once, so he hoped, adding to his own memorial, gratifying his own lust for the magnificent, and winning the loyalty of the Jews; though this latter was, as we have seen, not so easy of attainment as the other two.

The existing Temple had been standing for nearly five hundred years. Even in the climate of Palestine the mere lapse of centuries plays havoc with a building in so exposed a situation as that on which the successive Temples have stood, a building in which, moreover, a large portion was permanently exposed to the open air, without a roof. But the hand of man had done it even more damage than the forces of Nature. Antiochus Epiphanes, in the second century B.C., had endeavoured to establish in Jerusalem the worship of the Greek gods. He had entered presumptuously into the sanctuary and taken away the golden altar and the candlestick, the cups and bowls, the golden censers, and the veil and the crowns. And the adorning of gold which was on the face of the Temple he had scaled off. The treasures also he had found and taken away to his own land.¹ Being of a furious mind, he had dragged down with his profane hands the offerings that had been dedicated by other Kings to the augmentation and glory and honour of the place.² He left nothing splendid at all remaining.³ Again in the first century B.C., just before Herod's time, Pompey had committed no small enormities about the Temple by entering its holy of holies, though he seems to have refrained from pillage of its still existing treasures.⁴ Once more, in 54 B.C., within Herod's own remembrance, Crassus had carried off the treasure that Pompey had left. Eleazor, the then guardian of the treasures which the Jews 'throughout the habitable earth' had piously contributed, had offered him a beam of solid beaten gold on condition that he would

¹ 1 Macc. i. 20, etc.

² *Ant.* xii. 5, 4.

² 2 Macc. v. 11, etc.

⁴ *Ant.* xiv. 4, 4.

be content with this. Crassus consented; the beam was packed inside a hollow beam of wood; and Crassus then treacherously carried off both it and all the gold that was in the Temple.¹ Finally Herod himself, at the time of his enforced accession, and during the three years' war, had caused some of the cloisters about the Temple to be burnt.²

But, despoiled as it was, the chief thing which stimulated Herod's ambitious designs was the well-known fact—a fact deplored by the original builders themselves³—that the existing Temple was far less magnificent at its best than the foregoing Temple of Solomon had been. Herod was in no mind to be content with anything less than the glory of Solomon. The Temple of his own reign should be at least as large and as amply furnished as Solomon's had been. In this ambition he hoped, not unreasonably, to have the sympathy of his Jewish subjects. He even hoped to attract to the Jewish faith many thousands of Edomites and men of mixed race—Samaritans and others—who were his subjects, and so to create a wider basis of national life. Hence one-quarter of the added area was designed to be occupied by a court of the Gentiles, which came to be known as Solomon's Portico, but which, in spite of its name, was never grateful to the Jews.

It must be added, as the cardinal motive, that Herod desired for himself a more conspicuous position than was provided for him in the existing Temple. Of course, he was too much a Jew to claim any such thing as admission for himself into the sacred area reserved for the priests. On the other hand, he was

¹ *Ant.* xiv. 7, 1.

² *Ant.* xvi. 16, 2.

³ *Ezra* iii. 12.

too little a Jew by race to claim admission on that ground to areas open only to Jews who were actually Jews and not mere Idumean proselytes like himself. But at all events he was King, and as King he demanded a position of dignity in the Temple. In the first Temple, King Solomon had occupied a royal oratory with a private approach to it, used only on occasions of the King's worship.¹ In the second Temple, however, there was no such provision, for the simple reason that after the Captivity there was no longer a King to provide for, the Prince, in Maccabean times, being himself the High Priest, and having, of course, the provision proper to his ecclesiastical office. Herod therefore determined to restore the royal oratory over the Temple porch in the position which it had occupied in the first Temple. This part of the scheme was the one he made prominent in an address which he delivered to the Jews assembled in council. He reminded them that the poverty of their forefathers had compelled them to build a Temple whose entrance porch was lower by sixty cubits than the previous porch of Solomon. He very properly pointed out, moreover, that their forefathers were not at that time masters of the situation, and that it was Cyrus and Darius who determined the measures for its rebuilding. But he was careful not to mention that the increased height which he now proposed was to be used to provide a chamber for himself such as Solomon had occupied ; nor to say one word about his projected court of the Gentiles.

Herod's diplomatic speech, faithfully recorded by Josephus, seems to have met with no more favourable

¹ *Solomon's Temple*, 1908, pp. 226-70.

reception than is usually given to the schemes of church restorers in our day. The familiar objections were at once raised. The proposal was novel and unexpected, the Jews said ; in fact, as we should say, uncalled for. The project was, moreover, incredible, they argued ; by which argument they meant that it was altogether too large to be practicable. Besides, if Herod pulled down the whole edifice, what would become of the Temple services during the necessarily long interval of rebuilding ? Worse still, they might find themselves without a Temple at all if Herod for any reason should be unable to carry out his scheme. And how was he to attempt his scheme without bringing Gentile workmen to lay their unhallowed hands upon the sacred building ?

The King was ready with his reply. He would not pull down their Temple till all things were gotten ready for building it up entirely again. The pulling down and the building up should go on simultaneously. He would procure the necessary means of transport and would have stone in readiness. The most sacred portion of the enclosure should be built by priests wearing sacerdotal garments. They and the other workmen should be thoroughly trained and prepared beforehand. Not till everything was well prepared for the work would he begin to build. And as he promised them this beforehand, so he did not break his word with them, Josephus magnanimously tells us.

It does not appear, however, that the Jews were conciliated. On the contrary, we have the spectacle of the next generation of people cherishing the most abject reverence for Herod's Temple and a most intense loathing for Herod, who had built it at his own

expense and by the force of his own masterful genius. But this is to anticipate.

By the year 18 B.C. all was in readiness for the work. Two years had been occupied in preparation for it. A thousand priests had been taught to be masons and carpenters ; and thousands of sacerdotal garments had been got ready for them ; ten thousand skilled workmen had also been chosen, nine hundred of whom had been working in the quarries and forests to procure great blocks of stone that were white and strong, and timber in abundance ; a thousand wagons had transported the necessary new material to the spot, to be added to the old material of the existing Temple which was to be used again in the new.

For the general appearance of the hill on which the Temple was built, the British reader who has not seen Jerusalem may be referred to the Castle Rock at Edinburgh as its nearest familiar parallel ; and for its height he may conceive the Calton Hill. In each case the similarity is but approximate. The height of the Temple above the bed of the Kidron Valley beneath it has been variously estimated, and has itself varied by reason of the raising of the bed of the valley during centuries in which debris from above has been accumulating there. The height of the enclosing wall at the south-east corner is still 150 feet. Josephus declares that if anyone looked down from the top of the Temple battlements he would be giddy, while his sight could not reach to such an immense depth ; but then Josephus had the artistic temperament as well as the literary touch. The view from the Calton Hill down into the streets will probably be adequate to the situation in regard to height, or, better still, the

view from the Castle down into the street on its south side.

The top of the hill at Jerusalem was originally too small for the site of the various great buildings which have stood upon it. Solomon's workmen (following Babylonian and Assyrian precedents) had, according to a recent discovery,¹ constructed an enlarged platform upon foundations built into the rocky sides of the crest of the hill. This platform had been further enlarged towards the north by the Hasmoneans, and Herod now extended the substructions towards the west. The huge stones which he employed exist to this day on the spot. For the rest, he removed the platform of the second Temple and proceeded to build upon the substructural foundations laid by Solomon.

A detailed description of the Temple which Herod built will be found in the later part of this volume, and a more general account of its plan in the chapter which immediately follows this. It will suffice to say here that all the north-western and more sacred parts of the Enclosure were built by men of the priestly order. This we know not only from historical documents. A striking confirmation of it is found in the fact that the recorded measurements of this sacred portion are stated in Hebrew cubits, whereas the dimensions of the other, or eastern portion, are either omitted or stated in Greek measures.

A word may be said here about the financing of this great undertaking, for then, as now, money is the ultimate material origin of such things. Herod the

¹ Dr. Sayce has written: "To me the most important, and at the same time the most convincing, of the new facts brought before us by Mr. Caldecott is that the Temple in Jerusalem stood on an artificial platform." Preface to *Solomon's Temple*, p. v. Second Edition.

Great's income is estimated at about half a million sterling yearly (*Ant.* xix. 8, 2), the value of bullion being then much greater than it is now. For nearly twenty years the workers on the fabric of the Temple were paid out of his privy purse. Then came a change. Herod's son Archelaus was not appointed "King of the Jews," but Ethnarch of half the country only. His imperial mandate was to collect the tribute for which preparations had been made during the last days of his father. This he attempted to do by imitating the Tudor policy of his father and by repeating his severities. But he could not bend the bow of Ulysses, and a weak man with a strong policy is ever an object of pity and derision. Cæsar Augustus bore long with him, in spite of repeated complaining appeals from Judæa; but, after a ten years' failure, Archelaus was banished to Gaul, where he died at Vienne on the Rhone. To his reign belongs the rising under Theudas, mentioned by Gamaliel and recorded in Acts v. 36. It was now evident that to overcome the pride and scruples of Judæa a man of proved ability and large experience was requisite. Rome had such a man in Publius Sulpicius Quirinus, who had held every public office and passed the Consular Chair. Him, with some difficulty, Augustus persuaded to accept the office of Governor-General of Syria, with residence at Antioch, and gave him as pro-Curator of Judæa, Coponius—a man of the equestrian order. Quirinus himself came to Jerusalem and persuaded the high priest Joazar to sanction and recommend the payment of the imperial tax. This is what is meant by Luke telling us that this taxing was first made (i.e. actually collected) when Cyrenius was Governor of Syria, and by Josephus

telling us that Cyrenius came to assess the estates of the Jews (*Ant.* xx. 5, 2), and that this work was begun in the 37th year after Actium, *i.e.* in the year 6 A.D.

A good deal is said by the Jewish historian about the wealth that Archelaus left behind him. He was evidently a very mean man, and did nothing to conciliate his subjects, as his father had done, by lavish gifts and showy extravagance. The Temple revenues from the head of the State ceased on the death of Herod, and this fact, together with the increasing pressure from Rome as to money, so greatly delayed the work of construction that it was not completed for more than sixty years after Herod's death. Roman governors would do nothing to assist it: Pilate, we know, forcibly appropriated a portion of the Temple treasure for an increased water supply for the city. The finishing touches were therefore dependent for their financial support upon two such uncertain elements as the voluntary gifts of the people in making their annual contribution to the Temple, and upon the taste and temper of the priestly party then in power.

CHAPTER III

HIERON AND NAOS

THE ruling idea which governed the structure and arrangement of the group of buildings and courts known as the last Jewish Temple was twofold. It was to provide for the solemn ordering of the Mosaic ritual of worship, and it was, further, to provide for its frequenters admission through a series of carefully graduated barriers. The familiar arrangement of an English parish church presents a rudimentary or, rather, an attenuated example of the same twofold purpose. The chancel in which the Anglican services are conducted is divided by a more or less tangible barrier or screen from the transepts and nave into which the congregation is admitted. But the single barrier in an English church does but convey a suggestion of the elaborate system of successive barriers in the Jewish Temple; and in the same way the very slight difficulty which an English layman has in gaining admission to the sanctuary of his parish church is but the gentlest possible indication of the absolute and inflexible rigidity with which the successive barriers were guarded in the Temple.

Beginning from the outside, the series of barriers was graduated in accordance with the classification which follows :

1. People of the faith generally, Gentiles as well as Jews.

2. Jewish people, both men and women.
3. Jewish men.
4. Jewish priests.
5. The Jewish High Priest.

Hence no Gentile might pass beyond the first barrier, no woman beyond the second, no layman beyond the third, and no priest (except the High Priest) beyond the fourth. Not even the High Priest might pass the final barrier except on one day in the year. These several barriers were defended by the penalty of death for the transgressor. The problem which Herod's architects had to solve was to plan out the site in such fashion as to provide separate courts for these five classes, and so to dispose the altar and these courts that people in any and all of them might be able to witness the sacrificial rites, or at the very least, to see the smoke of them ascending. The fact that the original bed-rock of the summit of the hill stood out above the surrounding platform made the problem the easier to solve. The Sakhrah stone was therefore once more used as the position for the altar, as it had been in the two previous Temples, and steps were arranged in various positions so that they might not only lead from one court to another, but might also afford a sight of the altar to people who stood upon or above them. The English reader must, however, beware of allowing his familiar conception of the altar as the culminating point in his parish church to lead him to suppose that the Temple altar was also the culminating point of the Temple sanctuary. As a matter of fact, the altar, though a part of the *Naos*, was not within the sanctuary buildings at all, but stood outside of them, in a position analogous to that

of the chancel steps in an English church, or, more exactly, to that point under the central tower in a cathedral at which the transepts cross the nave ; only it stood open to the sky. A glance at the plan which accompanies this volume will serve to show (for the first time, it is believed,) how the buildings were finally arranged so as to fulfil their twofold purpose.

Starting again from the outside, it will be seen that the five classes of people described above were located and delimited as follows :

1. The people generally in Solomon's Portico, or the common court.
2. The Jewish people in the Treasury Court.
3. Jewish men in the Court of Israel.
4. Jewish priests in the Priests' Court and in the outer or eastern chamber of the sanctuary, called the Hêkâl.
5. The High Priest in the inner or western chamber of the sanctuary, called the Dêbîr.

There was, however, a third purpose which the Temple buildings had to serve, a purpose civil rather than ecclesiastical, and based upon the fact that the Mosaic legislation, as originally framed, was civil and criminal as well as ecclesiastical. Hence, a judicial court of two chambers was provided in which the greater and the lesser Sanhedrin administered justice ; a third and separate chamber was built for purposes of enrolment and the custody of records ; and still others for the use of lepers and of offerings. It is possible also that galleries were erected in the Treasury court for the better accommodation of women. All this, however, will be described in detail later. At present it is only necessary to give a general idea of the disposition of the whole structure.

It should, however, be mentioned here that there was a gradual diminution of light from the outer courts onward to the sanctuary. Some of the outer courts were open to the sky. Others were well supplied with the light of day as porticoes open on one side. But the outer court or room of the sanctuary was illumined only by a seven-branched candle-stick or lamp-stand; and the inner court, the culmination of the whole edifice, was maintained in absolute and unbroken darkness. The 'dim, religious light,' which even the Puritan Milton loved, is, in our churches again, but the very faint reminiscence of the 'thick darkness' in which Jehovah had His dwelling-place among the Jews (Exod. xx. 21, cited in 1 Kings viii. 12).

Inasmuch as the New Testament will be our principal document for the history and associations of Herod's Temple, it is necessary to make a preliminary examination of the terms which it uses in describing the structure. In the English versions of the New Testament the word 'temple' stands for two separate and distinct Greek words, *ἱερόν* (*hieron*) and *ναός* (*naos*). Fortunately for our understanding of the New Testament these two words in the original are never regarded by the writers as synonyms, nor in any case are they used interchangeably. The same distinction is maintained by Josephus, and it existed and was acknowledged in other Greek writers with reference to heathen temples. Each of the words describes a distinct and different portion of a temple from that described by the other. It is therefore much to be regretted that even the Revised Version of the English New Testament shows a little hesitation to

recognize the distinction. It does, indeed, invariably translate the Greek word *hieron* by the English word 'temple'; but it also allows the word 'temple' to stand in the text to represent the other Greek word *naos* in several instances. The careful reader of the Revised Version should observe that wherever the Greek word *hieron* occurs it is translated 'temple,' without any marginal note; and that wherever the Greek word *naos* occurs it is (either in the text or in the margin) translated 'sanctuary.' That is a rule which will bring the English reader sufficiently into touch with the Greek for our present purpose. In the Apocalypse it must be observed that the Revisers make their marginal note once for all at chapter iii. verse 12, giving to the word its highest sense.

The word *hieron* in the New Testament stands certainly for all parts of the structure except the sanctuary, and at times possibly includes the sanctuary itself. The word *naos* never stands for any part of the Temple but the sanctuary, i.e. the priestly court and its buildings. This is a rule of very great importance to the student. Stated generally it may be repeated thus: Whenever in the Revised Version mention is made of Herod's Temple, and the word 'temple' is used without a marginal variation, we are to understand that what is meant is certainly the buildings about the sanctuary and possibly the whole of the buildings, the sanctuary included; but whenever the word 'sanctuary' is used, or the word 'temple' is used with the marginal variant 'sanctuary,' then only the sanctuary is spoken of, and never the surrounding buildings. Further, it must always be kept in mind that the *Naos* or sanctuary includes only

the courts numbered four and five in the foregoing table and never the courts numbered one, two, and three, nor any of the judicial and other chambers.

The rule would be the simpler if we could say with confidence that the term *hieron* never included what is termed the *Naos*, just as the term *naos* never includes any portion of the *Hieron*. But there are scholars who doubt whether this simplification would be warranted. Fortunately this is not a matter of any practical importance for the understanding of the New Testament documents; and no one will be in danger of being led astray if he chooses to simplify the rule and to regard the term *hieron* as meaning only those parts of the Temple which are not the sanctuary. Indeed, the whole trend of the New Testament use of the term is certainly in the direction of the simplification, and it will be adopted henceforth in this volume.

It will now be evident that the *Hieron* of the Temple was no more the *Naos* than the cloisters of an English cathedral are the church, or than the chapter-house is the sanctuary. In the New Testament the following are specifically mentioned as portions of the *Hieron*: the place or places where Jesus habitually walked and taught; the place where oxen, sheep, and doves were sold for the sacrifices; the Treasury; the *στοά* or Portico of Solomon, that is, the court of the Gentiles (always referred to in this volume as Solomon's Portico in order to distinguish it from the quite different Solomon's Porch in the first Temple); the gate called Beautiful; the chest (*γαξοφυλάκιον*) or chests in which contributions were deposited for the sacred treasures; and a certain pinnacle or detached

wing or building, which may have been the south-east angle of the structure, overlooking the deep valley below. None of these places or portions of the Temple was in any sense the *Naos* or any portion of it, the eastern line of which was marked by a low *soreg* or wall of partition, of about one cubit in height, that stood above the steps on either side of the altar (*War* v. 5, § 6).

The *Hieron* is never mentioned in the New Testament except in the four Gospels and the Acts. The sole exception to this statement is the passage (1 Cor. ix. 13) where St. Paul says that 'they which minister about sacred things eat of the things of the *hieron*.' This testimony is conclusive as to the feasting portions of the Temple standing apart from the holy chambers. So also is the topography of one of our Lord's parables conclusive as to the place of individual prayer in the Temple: two men went up into the *Hieron* to pray; the low *soreg* dividing the two courts for worship, namely that of priests and that of laity, the use of the word shows that the Pharisee who went up to the Temple was a layman and not a priest. The word *hieron* further occurs in Acts xix. to describe the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, and in the same chapter the word *naos* is used to describe the silver shrines of Diana, which were small models of the goddess and temple, the making of which brought no little business unto the Ephesian craftsmen.

The word *naos* is distributed throughout the New Testament generally. It is used in a metaphorical as well as a literal sense, whereas the word *hieron* is used in the literal sense only. *Naos*, in its literal sense, occurs to describe the space between the holy chambers

and the altar which was separate from them ; to define the object by which men swore ; to locate the veil which separated its two chambers ; to indicate the place in which Zacharias, a priest, executed his office ; to specify the place which was forty-and-six years in building ; and to name the place of the pavement on to which Judas threw the pieces of silver. In its metaphorical sense it is used of the body of Jesus ; of the bodies of Christian disciples ; of the church or the whole body of disciples ; of the usurpation by the ' man of sin ' ; and of the Apocalyptic vision.

Our Lord, not being of the priestly order, never entered the *Naos*. Herod also, and for the same reason, never entered it. When Josephus tells us that Herod was excluded therefrom because he was not a priest, he tells us the truth, but not the whole truth. The fact is that Herod was not only not a priest, but, moreover, he was not strictly even a Jew, and therefore he could not proceed beyond the Court of the Gentiles, which was known as Solomon's Portico. It may be that it was by reason of this limitation that Herod caused that court to be of grand proportions and splendid architecture. If he could go no further than that court, he would at least make that court such as befitted so splendid a person as himself. It is true that he also designed a royal chamber for himself, but even this was no part of, though within, the *Naos* ; and he occupied it not as a Jew, but as King of the Jews, and a successor of David.

The case of Judas demands special notice. Archbishop Trench, in his admirable work on *The Synonyms of the New Testament*, stoutly maintains that Judas, in his despair and defiance, actually pressed into the

Naos itself and there cast down before the priests the accursed price of blood (Matt. xxvii. 5). Had such a thing occurred it would have been held by the Jews to be infinitely more wicked than his original offence, and he would never have been allowed to go away and hang himself, but would have been put to death at their own hands. Moreover, it is inconceivable that Judas would have been allowed to step over the low railing of a cubit high into an enclosure so carefully guarded. And, as a matter of fact, the evangelist does not say that he did any such thing. Possibly he attempted to do it, but, being baffled in his mad purpose, he only succeeded in throwing the coins over the wooden spikes into the *Naos* floor below. Trench has apparently accepted a reading of the text which is discarded unanimously by the greater textual critics, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, and the Revisers. It is not ἐν τῷ ναῷ, but εἰς τοὺς ναοὺς, not "in the *Naos*," but "into the *Naos*," that the money was cast down. The impossible reading certainly occurs in two of the great MSS., but it is impossible all the same. It arose probably as a more natural adjunct to the verb; but a more difficult reading is always to be preferred to an easier one.

These two Greek topographical terms, then, are used with singular precision and consistency in the New Testament. The only variation from them occurs in Luke xi. 51, where the term οἶκος, house, is used in place of the term *naos* which occurs in the parallel passage in St. Matthew. The beloved physician was probably a Gentile.

CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORICAL ENVIRONMENT

THE story of a Temple which, though eighty years or more in building to its last finial, only remained in existence for five or six years after its completion, must needs be briefer and less varied than the story of its predecessor which stood for nearly five centuries, and was contemporaneous with the rise and fall of empires. But what Herod's Temple loses in mere duration it more than gains in importance ; for its frequenters witnessed, and it was itself in part the scene of, the rise of Christianity itself. Three momentous years in the annals of this Temple have changed the course of history for all the centuries to follow.

Our authorities for the history of this period in Jerusalem are mainly, indeed almost exclusively, two—the New Testament and Josephus. To the Christian reader of to-day it must needs seem strange and unaccountable that Josephus, a historian of this period, should record little or nothing about Jesus and nothing whatever about Paul. The reader must therefore force himself to recognize and remember that however supremely important the beginnings of Christianity really were, they certainly were not recognized so to be by either the Jews or the Romans of contemporary times. Even so late as the end of the period covered

by the Acts of the Apostles there were Jews, and plenty of them, who knew Christianity only as 'this sect,' and that it was everywhere spoken against. As for the Romans, they disdained the poor province of the Jews, and so the affairs of a Jewish 'sect,' despised by even the Jews themselves, would naturally be for them beneath contempt, as the case of Gallio shows. Now Josephus was both a Jew and a parasite of Rome, and though he wrote his histories towards the end of the first century A.D., he would still, even then, have been scouted by the people for whom he wrote if he had so much as suggested that Jesus and the Apostles were worthy of even the smallest note. He did not himself believe the Christian story, and it is possible, but improbable, that the sole passage in which Jesus is alluded to in his works is an interpolation. Even if he had thought the rise of Christianity important enough to be recorded, he would still have hesitated to remind his Roman patrons that it was a Roman governor who had crucified Jesus. Nero's persecution of the Christians had filled even the callous Roman world with horror at the time, and Nero was dead before Josephus wrote. Sir William Ramsay has shown that, though modified in various degrees according to the personal disposition of the man, the principle of persecuting the Christians as atheists and rebels was retained by the three Flavii throughout the life of Josephus and after. He, moreover, was in the habit of allowing Titus to read and approve his works before giving them to the world (*Life of Josephus*, 65). Hence it is that we look in vain to find in Josephus anything more than side-lights on what is really the essential element in the history of the period. It

is interesting to note further that Josephus, in his history of the Old Testament times, had omitted all that has reference to the Messiah, imagining, no doubt, either that this matter would have no interest for his readers, or else that in the circumstances of his time it would have been dangerous to allude to it.

But little as Josephus is an authority for the Christian history, he is almost the sole authority for the history of the Jews as a whole during this period. From him we learn that, at the time of the birth of Herod, the Jews were in process of losing the independence which they had acquired during the Maccabean times. The Roman commonwealth had begun the policy of attempting to repair its internal decay by acquiring fresh territory to add as fields of plunder to the Empire. Palestine naturally presented itself to Rome as desirable in that sense; and the Jews had unwittingly aided Rome by internal strife between the Pharisees and the Sadducees. In the time of John Hyrcanus (135-105 B.C.) the Sadducees, being a political party, determined to uphold the State rather than the religion of the Jews, the Pharisees, on the other hand, caring more for religion than for the State. Judas Aristobulus (105-104 B.C.), the son and successor of John Hyrcanus in the High-Priesthood, which carried with it a sort of Maccabean monarchy, followed his father's example in leaning towards the Sadducees rather than towards the Pharisees. His successor and brother, Alexander Jannæus (104-78 B.C.), however, from weakness rather than intention, allowed the Pharisees to gain the upper hand, though they had no respect at all for him, but distinctly the reverse. They headed a revolt against him, and for six years

Judæa was the scene of a sanguinary civil war in which fifty thousand Jews were slain at the hands of their own countrymen. The Pharisaic party further enlisted against him the help of their old enemies the Syrians, but only succeeded thereby in turning the sympathy of a large number of the Jews back again towards Alexander, who was, at all events, one of their own race. So the Maccabean Alexander when at length he died was still the ruler of his nation, and was succeeded by his widow, Salome Alexandra (78-69 B.C.), in the monarchy, and by his eldest son, Hyrcanus II, in the High-Priesthood. Alexandra had been advised by her late husband to put some of her authority into the hands of the Pharisees, and not to depend wholly on one party in the State. At all events, the Sadducees, during her reign, organized something like a revolt under her second son, Aristobulus, and succeeded in regaining power. Under Aristobulus (69-63 B.C.) the civil strife continued unabated, and it was in his time that the Romans at last stepped in and gained Palestine for the Empire. A certain conclusion is that the deadly strife between the Pharisees and the Sadducees with which the reader of the New Testament is familiar was the ultimate cause of putting the Jewish State under the heel of Rome.

Antipater, the father of Herod, was at this time Prince of the neighbouring province of Idumea, whose people were descended from Esau, and who were further connected with Judæa in having been impelled by John Hyrcanus to adopt the badge of Judaism. This Antipater had rendered some service to the Romans, and so the first of the Cæsars now made him the first of a long list of procurators of Judæa, and

placed the real power over Judæa in his hands. It is possible that Julius Cæsar was so ignorant of Jewish history as to imagine that a man of consanguineous race would be more acceptable to the Jews than a ruler of Roman descent, for there is no doubt that the Emperor was favourably disposed towards his new subjects. Antipater did indeed begin his rule by raising up again parts of the wall of Jerusalem which had been broken down during the recent Roman assault upon it under Pompey, and by pacifying the tumult which had been in the country. His son Phasæl, whom he appointed to be governor of Jerusalem, also secured the good will of the inhabitants of the city and managed matters so well that Antipater received from the nation such respect as is due to kings. But this pleasing state of things soon came to an end. The principal men among the Jews began to suspect that Antipater and his sons were too well-disposed towards the Romans and appropriated too much Jewish revenue for themselves, and it was at this time that Herod, now governor of Galilee, underwent the ridiculous prosecution before the Sanhedrin, which has already been described. The Jews now gradually determined that they would never tolerate an Edomite ruler. Their common nickname for Herod the Great was 'The Slave.'

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the Roman overlordship in Palestine was not less beneficent in intention than it proved to be in fact in Britain, which began to be occupied by the Romans at a slightly later time. If the results of it in Palestine were less admirable than they came to be in Britain, the blame must be laid upon the Jews themselves. The

Roman policy was much the same in both cases, but the Jews were not disposed to welcome it and turn it to advantage as the British people did. England, to this very day, is the better for the Roman occupation, but the Jewish attitude of resentment towards the Romans resulted in the occupants leaving Palestine altogether. That the extension of the Roman Empire did nevertheless prepare the way for Christianity is, of course, another story altogether.

In the year 43 B.C. Antipater was treacherously poisoned by Malichus, a Jewish commander, whom Herod in turn proceeded to slay by way of revenge for his murdered father. Rome, two years later, advanced Herod to the rank of tetrarch, and shortly afterwards to be King of Judæa (40 B.C.), in spite of the determined opposition of the Jews towards him and his dynasty.

Thus we come within sight of the period with which the present history is especially concerned. The Pharisees by this time had withdrawn themselves altogether from public affairs, and we shall henceforth meet with them as an ecclesiastical rather than as a political party. Nevertheless, they comprised the best part of the nation, and cannot rightly be regarded as merely a sect. They were, in fact, the educated portion of the people—pious, learned, and truly national. They were the recognized expositors of the law and directors of religion. Their virtuous conduct was proverbial, though the self-righteous spirit of the order and their general principles of action were denounced by Jesus. They were scrupulously exact in their observance of national religious ordinances, upheld belief in the divine disposal of human affairs, taught

the doctrine of the immortality of the soul and of future rewards and penalties, and were, in fact, the conscience of the nation. With them were allied the profession of the Scribes, many of whom were Pharisees.

The Essenes were a small fraternity of ultra-Pharisees. They were the only Jewish party who did not come under some rebuke of our Lord. Their life was spent in mystic contemplation and prayer, and they were conspicuously virtuous. They rejected all pleasures, lived for the most part in celibacy, and practised extreme Levitical purism. They believed in the divine ordering of events, here and hereafter. Their attitude towards pain seems to have been identical with that of the Buddhists. They were communistic as to property, and took 'mine is thine and thine is mine' as a formula for the regulation of their social life. Being thus necessarily isolated from the rest of the nation, they could not engage in trade or commerce, and supported themselves exclusively by agriculture. They were among the Jews what the early disciples of St. Francis of Assisi afterwards were among the Christians. In the end some of them became Christians. They were early expelled from the common court of the Temple, otherwise open to all (*Ant.* xviii. 1, 5).

The Sadducees were at the opposite pole of national life and thought from the Essenes. It is not clear what Josephus, himself a Pharisee, means when he calls them wild and barbarous. There were no doubt bad members of the party, as there were of the Pharisees. Some New Testament passages are our sufficient warrant for that. And they made no pretence to be

other than worldly and political. They were as lax in the matter of religious ordinances as the Essenes were strict. Tradition was of no account with them. Religion, they said, had nothing to do with the State ; the two were separate and different things. Human affairs in general were independent of divine control in this life ; and there was no other life than this ; the soul would die with the body ; and there was neither angel nor spirit. Yet this secularist party numbered among its members many aristocratic and even priestly families. To it both Annas and Caiaphas belonged.

These parties in the nation, or at all events two of them, will be met with continually in and about the Temple. The Temple was for all of them, though with varying degrees of attachment, the visible centre and focus of national religion and life. Even out of remote places a vast number of pilgrim Jews were in the habit of coming up to Jerusalem to attend the great annual festivals, as we are told in a familiar passage at the beginning of the Acts of the Apostles. Josephus affirms that there were more than twenty thousand priests on duty by turns in the Temple, but, as he also affirms that nearly two and three-quarter millions of people were to be found in Jerusalem at the great festivals, we are bound to use caution in accepting his numbers. At any rate, the number of clerics must have been sufficiently imposing. Besides the priests, there were a large number of Levites, whose duty it was to guard the treasures of the Temple, to act as cooks and scavengers, and to perform sentry duty at its various entrances. They constituted a sort of ecclesiastical police force under the command of the Captain of the

Temple. We shall meet with them in the arrest of Jesus and at other times.

The essential act of worship in the Temple was sacrifice. Sacrifices were of two kinds: one in which blood was shed and the other which was offerings without bloodshed. These latter, however, were subsidiary and subordinate to the former. There was a daily sacrifice, both morning and evening, of a lamb. The morning sacrifice was at break of day, 'when the sun was lit up as far as Hebron' (so we read in the Talmud that is, when the hills about the city had become plainly visible in the dawning light. At this moment the blast of a silver trumpet resounded through the city and its surrounding country to call the faithful to worship. The evening sacrifice was at three in the afternoon. 'All the congregation worshipped, and the singers sang, and the trumpeters sounded . . . and all the people bowed themselves and worshipped.' At the great annual commemoration of the Passover the Temple courts must have run with a welter of blood-little in accordance with Christian ideas of worship but arrangements were made for its seemly conveyance to the brook Kidron below, whose waters were at times reddened by it in its course below the Temple hill.

In addition to the Temple services there was worship in the Synagogues. Edersheim taxes our credulity in telling us that there were as many as 480 Synagogues great and small, in Jerusalem alone at this time. One of them was actually within the outer circle of the *Hieron* itself. The main object of the Synagogue was the teaching of the people, though the liturgical element was never quite wanting. The Synagogue building

¹ 2 Chron. xxix. 28, 29.

had colonnades more or less adorned with carvings, and were arranged internally upon the plan of the Tabernacle and the successive Temples. Every Synagogue was open for service at least three times a week. It was the Synagogue which, after the final disappearance of the Temple, served to perpetuate the Jewish worship, and which indeed became the model of the earliest Christian churches.

Such, in bald outline, was the historical situation in Jerusalem during the rebuilding of the Temple. The work was so arranged that probably at no time was there a serious break in the continuity of the Temple services, or of the life and movement which concentrated itself upon the Temple courts. Through all the years in which Roman officers and soldiers paraded the streets of the city or mounted guard upon its walls, the Jewish people thronged the Temple courts from sunrise to the closing of its gates, as men now gather in the market or on 'Change in an English town. Jew and Gentile jostled each other in the Portico of Solomon ; traffickers in oxen and doves for sacrifice pushed their trade there throughout the day ; Pharisees and Sadducees plied their arguments in the Court of the Women ; the steps were thronged with people eager to witness the sacrifices ; here and there a publican called for mercy in his penitence, a widow dropped her offering into the treasury, a leper came to pay his dues, a peasant family from the provinces sought enrolment in a minor court ; accused persons were brought in for trial in the Court of the Sanhedrin ; and amidst all the movement Jesus himself from day to day sat and talked with His disciples, or sought to convince the Pharisees, or bowed His head in reverence

during the offering of the sacrifices. And above all this busy scene there rang out at intervals the sound of trumpets and the song of the worshippers, while the smoke of incense and of burnt offering rose gently from the sanctuary and spread itself into a cloud above the Temple in the sight of all the city.

CHAPTER V

PROCESS AND PROGRESS OF THE BUILDING

BY the year 15 B.C. Herod was ready to begin his great rebuilding. His materials were at hand, his architectural plans were matured, his workmen had been trained. The Rabbis believed, or at all events taught, that the Temple was one of seven things that had existed before the world, and there were at this time many Jews who believed as well as taught that when Messiah came he would build a far more splendid Temple than the one then in existence.¹ Herod was a very poor substitute for the Messiah, but he certainly aimed at the least possible violation of Jewish ideals and prejudices. Hence among his workmen he had trained a thousand priests whose hands alone were to touch the *Naos*. Their part of the work was the earliest to be undertaken, and it is no doubt this is the work to which Josephus refers when he says that it was completed in a year and six months. Just as the walls of Jerusalem had been built by workmen who had swords as well as trowels in their hands and were almost as much soldiers as builders, so now Herod's priestly workmen wore sacerdotal garments while they used their trowels, and were engaged in an ecclesiastical function rather than a mere work of masonry.

These priestly masons would present a striking

¹ Targum, *Jes.* 53, 5, and elsewhere.

appearance. They would no doubt be arrayed in the garments prescribed in the Old Testament ritual: a white tunic of linen, closely fitting and reaching down to the feet, with sleeves closely fitting to the arms, supported by a woven girdle, or cincture, four fingers broad, also of linen. This girdle was wound several times round the body at the waist and tied there, the loose ends with their fringes being still long enough to reach to the ankles, 'in the most agreeable manner to the spectators.' When spectacular effects had to be subordinated to the convenience of working, the long loose ends were thrown over the priest's left shoulder and so hung down behind him instead of in front of him. Certain strings fastened about each shoulder held it permanently in position, whether the wearer were at work or at rest. Upon his head the priest wore a turban-like head-dress of linen, swathed many times, and sewed together into a sort of cap for the back part of the head. This was supplemented by a piece of covering linen reaching from the top of the turban downward to the forehead. The whole was firmly fixed down to the head so as to adhere closely, without danger of falling off while the priest was engaged with his work. To Western eyes the entire outfit was designed 'for beauty and for glory' rather than for convenience.

In the East, where turbans are more difficult to remove than shoes, it has always been and still is customary to uncover the feet rather than the head upon entering a sacred place. Thus both Moses and Joshua were, upon occasion, directed to put off their shoes from off their feet when the place whereon they were standing was holy ground. It may be assumed

therefore that the priests were barefooted while engaged in building, as they were when on official duty. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that no covering for the feet is described or mentioned among the details of the sacerdotal dress, and it is confirmed still further by the significant fact that, among the Temple officials, there was a medical man whose duty it was to minister to the ailments of the priests, ailments which their feet were specially liable to.¹

Iron tools were specially avoided within the building-area occupied by the *Naos*. The stones of which its walls and pavements were laid were all cut and squared before leaving the quarries. These quarries are one of the most remarkable objects of interest in modern Jerusalem. They run for a considerable extent under Antonia and the northern parts of the city, westwards of the Temple. The thousand wagons provided by Herod that were to bring stone for the building were used in transporting the huge blocks the short distance from the quarries to the Temple site, there being a subterranean entrance for them to the ground of the Temple. When there, no mortar or cement was used in their composition, as none was used in the walls of Moriah, still standing. In this way the stones for the huge Temple platform were noiselessly placed, and the walls above it and around it rose in comparative silence (*Ant.* xv. II, 2).

Nor in procuring stones for the altar from the virgin soil was any scratch of an iron tool permitted, but whole stones were found upon which iron had not been lifted. Iron was held to defile everything it touched.

¹ Edersheim, *Jewish Social Life*, p. 164.

'Iron is created to shorten the days of man, and the altar is created to lengthen the days of man, therefore it is not right that that which shortens should be lifted upon that which lengthens.'¹

Within the *Naos*, the most important piece of artistic workmanship was the veil which separated the smaller inner chamber from the larger one to the east of it. The undoubted existence of this veil in Herod's *Naos* helps to confirm the belief that a similar veil existed in the previous structures, of which this was a reproduction. It is true that the Old Testament is almost, though not quite,² silent about this veil, but it is also true that the argument from silence is always precarious. The veil in the New Testament *Naos* is, however, abundantly attested, being that which was rent at the moment of death (Matt. xxvii. 51). Josephus does not describe it. We may assume that he never saw it, for, though of priestly descent, he does not appear to have exercised the highest of priestly functions. We are therefore thrown back upon the Mishna³ for the information that it 'was an handbreadth thick, and woven of seventy-two twist plaits; each plait consisted of twenty-four threads. Two of these veils were made every year, and it took three hundred priests to immerse one.'⁴ The Talmud adds that of the twenty-four threads six were of each of the Temple colours: white, scarlet, blue, and gold. The Sultan is but carrying on the traditions of the Temple when he sends yearly a sacred carpet to lie

¹ *Middoth* iii. 4, a law based on Exodus xxvi. 25.

² 2 Chron. iii. 14.

³ Shek. viii. 5.

⁴ Another passage in the Mishna (*Yoma* v. 1) describes the inner veil as double, with a cubit's free space between, one fastened to the north wall and another to the south. This would allow the High Priest to enter without at the same time admitting light into the Holy of Holies.

on the floor of the present House of the Dome, or Noble Sanctuary in Jerusalem.

The second of two veils mentioned in the Mishna refers to an outer curtain which Josephus describes and which he may have seen, for he says its position was 'before the doors' of the *Naos*, a phrase which could hardly describe any other position than the outside of its easternmost entrance. This outer curtain he describes as Babylonian in style, *i.e.* the same on both sides, embroidered with the same four colours as the inner veil (the white being linen), and of a contexture that was truly wonderful. He has, moreover, some fanciful interpretation of its embroidery¹ which it is not necessary to quote here. The seven-branched candlestick, the table for shewbread, the altar of incense, and the other scanty furniture of the Eastern Chamber complete the description of the *Naos*; for in the inner and most holy place there was nothing at all except a stone on which the atonement blood was sprinkled. We have Pompey's evidence for this.

However short may have been the time occupied in rebuilding the *Naos*, there must have been the necessity for some special and temporary provision for the continuation of the Temple services during the rebuilding. Of this we have no record. It would apparently be taken for granted; and, moreover, our principal historian of the period was not then born, and it may be did not know what provision was made. What we are told is that this part of the work was complete in the comparatively short time before mentioned, the Great Altar itself being replaced in a few days or weeks.

¹ *War* v. 5, 4.

Nor are we told very much about the rededication. All the people were full of joy, we are told, and they presently returned thanks, in the first place to God, and in the next place to the King for the alacrity he had shown. So they feasted and celebrated the rebuilding of the Temple proper. The fact that no special priestly function in the *Naos* is reported on this occasion strengthens the conjecture that these functions had hardly been suspended. There were special sacrifices at the altar, however. Herod sacrificed three hundred oxen, the flesh of which would be eaten by the assembled thousands, as free-will or peace-offerings to God.

The later day of the rededication of the whole compound structure coincided with the day of Herod's 'inauguration,' a coincidence which no doubt was not undesigned, and so the festival was the more illustrious. But what about the royal apartment? Surely the King would occupy it on a day like this? There is no hint of it. The picturesque historian, always hostile to Herod, says no word of it whatever. When he wrote, Herod was still too unpopular, and Josephus could not forget that he was a priest, and a priest of a Maccabean family, whose last royal representative had been murdered by Herod.

The rebuilding of the *Hieron* went on much more slowly than that of the *Naos* had done. Certainly it was a much larger undertaking, but on the other hand the lay workmen were nine or ten times the number of the priestly workmen. Herod's alacrity here seems to have suffered some hindrance or abatement. There could have been no difficulty in obtaining the required number of workmen for this larger undertaking. Even if no Gentiles had been employed, we know that

the Jews themselves held very wholesome views about the dignity of labour, and especially of such labour as this. They knew quite well that to labour in the sweat of the brow was no part of the primeval curse, but rather its mitigation. 'Whoever does not teach his son a trade is as if he brought him up to be a robber' is a familiar saying of the Rabbis which is much more true to the best traditions of the nation, from the time of Moses onward, than most of their sayings are. And the Rabbis lived up to their teaching in this particular. Hillel was a woodcutter, Shammai a carpenter, and every variety of trade was represented in their ranks. It is hardly necessary to do more than refer, in this connection, to the example of the Carpenter of Nazareth and His disciples, and to the repeated teaching and consistent practice of St. Paul.

It is possible that the Jewish hatred of the Edomite Herod so strongly modified their regard for the Temple that, the *Naos* once complete, they were in no hurry to accelerate the building of the *Hieron* with its huge and unprecedented allotment of space to a Court of the Gentiles. It was in vain that Herod had burned the documents which showed his genealogical descent from Edom, that he strove to show his descent from a distinguished family of Babylonian Jews, and that he directed Nicolaus of Damascus to draw up this pedigree for him; the document which really counted was the certain knowledge which the Jews had that, pedigree or no pedigree, Herod was a vulgar Edomite of no family at all. They had no objection, but quite the reverse, to the restoration of the Temple to its former glory, but it was not by any means the expected Messiah who was directing the work for them, and

they were strongly convinced that the Messiah would not have planned a portico for the Gentiles of huge dimensions and conspicuous splendour, nor would he have added insult to this injury by giving to it the name of Solomon. So if the workmen lagged they were not without some justification for their lack of enthusiasm.

It is not certain, moreover, that the workmen's wages were always paid promptly. The vast sums which Herod spent upon his buildings, both within and without his kingdom, were at times in advance of even the immense income which he is known to have received. A gruesome story in this connection belongs to the period of the building of the *Hieron*. It was known to Herod that Hyrcanus had upon occasion opened David's sepulchre and taken out of it three thousand talents of silver, and that there was a much larger sum left behind, enough indeed to suffice all his wants. He had for a great while allowed himself to harbour the intention to follow the example of Hyrcanus, and at last, accompanied by a few faithful friends, he opened that sepulchre one night and went into it, and hoped that the darkness would cover his deed so that it should not be known at all in the city. As for money, he found none, but found many ornaments of gold and precious goods that were laid up there ; all which he took away. However, he had a great desire to make a more diligent search, and to go further in, even as far as the very bodies of David and Solomon, when two of his guards were slain by a flame that burst out upon those that went in, as the report was. So he was terribly affrighted, and went out, and built a propitiatory monument of that act, and this

of white stone at the mouth of the sepulchre, and that at great expense also. However much or little of truth there may have been in the story, it was one that was likely enough to be believed; and wages suspected to be from such a source would not conduce to enthusiastic industry on the part of Jewish workmen.

Within ten years from the commencement of the work the outer buildings were so far advanced as to be ready for religious rites. By this statement we are no doubt to understand that the parts about the *pro-Naos*, including the altar, had long been reconstructed, and that such portions of the *Hieron* courts as were absolutely necessary for the worshippers and spectators were now ready for occupation. Henceforth we have no precise chronological notes of sequence in the building operations. The work went slowly on through two more generations, with intervals, doubtless, of months or even years in which it was to a more or less extent suspended. When a portion of the *Hieron* is mentioned in connection with events in the earlier part of the period we are now about to enter, we can never be quite sure whether it is the completed or the incomplete, or a stage of transition between them, which is implied.

It is sufficiently evident, nevertheless, that Solomon's Portico was well advanced during the life of Herod. In support of this we have not only the a priori conjecture that the King would naturally press onward his own favourite portion of the scheme, but we have, further, a piece of definite history. It seems that, not long before his death, Herod had erected, over the great gate of the Temple, a large golden eagle, of great value, and had dedicated it to the Temple.

This 'great gate' would no doubt be the eastern entrance to the Portico, the New Testament 'Beautiful Gate'; and it is reasonable to infer that if the gate was far enough advanced for this final decoration, the whole structure of the Portico could not have been far from complete. The same argument *mutatis mutandis* applies to the Temple precincts about the Treasury, where Agrippa I hung a golden chain of the same weight as the iron one which as a prisoner he had worn at Rome (*Ant.* xix. 6, 1).

But Herod's eagle came to a disastrous end. The Jewish law had always forbidden images of any living creature that was in the heavens above or the earth beneath or the waters under the earth, and the Jews of Jerusalem were very bitter against this eagle of the heavens above. It was not so much the position of the creature that irritated them; for they were loath to regard the Portico as a portion of the sacred enclosure at all. It was simply the image, *per se*, that they could not away with. In addition to which it was the emblem of Rome and of Roman domination.

Some years before this time Herod had set up in one of his theatres certain trophies of armour which the Jews imagined must necessarily contain a human image to support them. When they made a disturbance thereupon, Herod had them into the theatre, caused the armour to be removed, and discovered mere wooden pegs beneath. *Solvebantur risu tabulæ*. But the eagle was not to be disposed of in any such hilarious fashion. When Herod was afflicted with a great distemper and the rumour was that he was dying, two learned Rabbis and a following of eager young Jews let themselves down from the top of the gateway (the eagle must have

been immediately over the door) and, in the face of the midday sun, cut down that eagle with axes. Herod's indignation overcame for the moment his disease; he had the culprits brought before him at Jericho, and even went out and spoke to the people, making a terrible accusation about these men on the score of ingratitude and sacrilege. Finally he had forty of these young men and the two Rabbis burnt alive before the people's eyes. 'And that very night there was an eclipse of the moon,' which fixes the date as the 12th of March, 4 B.C. Eighteen days afterwards Herod himself was dead.

CHAPTER VI

THE HOPE OF ISRAEL

WE are now about to mingle with the Jewish people of New Testament times, and with them to wander about the Temple courts and to observe the objects and people and events which are told of in the Gospels and the Acts. This will be at once the most natural and the most effectual method of becoming acquainted with these sacred buildings and their uses. From time to time we shall thus revisit every portion of the *Hieron* and shall have occasion to note the details of its structure, the ordering of its worship, and the way in which people were busying themselves within its precincts. We shall, of course, bear in mind that the workmen are still busy here and there (Greeks in the Portico and Jews elsewhere) transforming the second Temple into the third. But one important caution is necessary for the English reader. We have already noticed some remote analogies between an English church and the Jewish Temple. It must always be remembered that those analogies are very remote indeed. The Temple was much more unlike than like an English place of worship. The altar, for instance, stood open to the sky, and the whole series of courts was much more open to the air than any portion of an English church. We might

liken some of the Temple courts to the cloisters of an English cathedral ; but here again we must resolutely remember that in the Temple courts there was nothing whatever of the stately and quiet seclusion of a cloister. On the contrary, these courts were the recognized meeting-place of the people, and in that respect were more like an English market-place than like a cloister. All day long the Temple police, who were invariably Levites, were as much in evidence in the *Hieron* as the English policemen are on a market day ; and on the days of the great religious festivals Roman guards walked upon the roof of Solomon's Portico and stood on the floors of the outer porticoes to help in the preservation of order. Not till sunset, when the gates were closed, did silence fall upon the place and leave it in possession of the Temple guards and of the Captain of the Temple, who walked about, in the light of torches carried before him, to see that none of the guards were sleeping. Anyone so found was not awakened, but had his garments set alight.

Our first incident happens about a year or so before the time of the golden eagle affair. During many centuries incense had been offered twice a day in the sanctuary. On the day in question it was being offered by the priest whose turn it is, as decided by lot. He has taken fire from the altar on the east of the sanctuary, and carried it into the outer or eastern court of the *Naos*. The curtain has closed behind him and he is alone. He lays the fire upon the incense altar and then pours incense sticks from a golden vessel upon the fire. The smoke of the incense gradually fills the room and even finds its way westward into the smaller room beyond, the partition between them

being but half the height of the side walls. That is a court which he himself has never entered and never will. It is the most holy place of Jehovah. But the incense represents his prayers and the prayers of a whole multitude who are devoutly waiting outside the *Naos*. It is the most solemn moment in a priest's life when for the only time he thus offers incense.

The priest on duty for this day is an aged man named Zacharias. He belongs to one of the twenty-four courses of priests appointed regularly since the return from the Captivity five hundred years before. Each course went on duty for a week at a time, and each priest in the course on duty was liable to be chosen by lot for the honour of officiating on a given day in the week. The lot for to-day has fallen upon this aged man. He knows it will be the only time that the lot will fall to him for this most solemn duty. His time to pass away from service in the earthly sanctuary will soon be come. Already he is on the borderland of the eternal. A great and solemn emotion fills his soul, even as the sacred smoke of incense fills the court around him. He thinks of the days which will be after he is gone. And as he tarries long in prayer he has a vision of an angel of the Lord standing there with him, on the other side of the golden altar, in the silent sacred place. And Zacharias was troubled when he saw him, and fear fell upon him. But the angel said unto him, 'Fear not, Zacharias; because thy supplication is heard.' What had been his supplication? Evidently that he might not die childless; that he might leave behind him one who should go before the face of the Lord in the spirit and power of Elijah of old. The supplication was in due time answered in the birth

to him of John the Baptist, the forerunner of our Lord. Meanwhile the people at prayer outside, by the altar steps in the Court of Israel, marvelled at the long tarrying of the aged priest within. They were waiting for the assurance, which his return to them would bring, that their prayers also had been accepted. Just in the same way the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews conceives the whole Church to be waiting now till Christ shall appear the second time, without a sin-offering unto salvation. The Church on earth is the outer court of that sanctuary in the heavens into which Christ has entered to appear before the face of God for us. But when Zacharias returned to the people he could not speak, but gave his priestly blessing by signs; and they perceived that he had seen a vision in the sanctuary.

About a year afterwards Jesus was born in Bethlehem, whither his parents had gone for an enrolment or census which is now known to have been made at that time, though Luke is careful in a single sentence to explain (ii. 2) that though the enrolment was made during the last days of Herod the Great, his son Archelaus, as Ethnarch, in spite of severities, was unable to enforce the collection of the tax contemplated in it. This led to his deposition in A.D. 6, and to the appointment of an Imperial Procurator of Syria, in the person of Publius Sulpicius Quirinus. He held office for but three stormy years, but he collected the tribute, a reference to the riots that accompanied the legal process being given by Luke in Acts v. 37 (A.V.):

‘After this man rose up Judas of Galilee¹ in the

¹ Josephus has several references to this man and his sons. *Ant.* xviii. 1 § 6; xx. 5 § 2; *War* ii. 8 § 1; ii. 17 § 8.

days of the taxing, and drew away people after him : he also perished ; and all, as many as obeyed him, were scattered abroad.'

A very ancient and universal sentiment, of which there are traces in English villages even to-day, coincided with the Jewish law that a woman after childbirth must not leave the house for forty days, and then must present herself in the house of God. In the case of a male firstborn, the child also was to be consecrated to the Lord. The mother was to present first a sin-offering and then a burnt-offering in the Temple. Ceremonial uncleanness in relation to childbirth was regarded as a sort of sin by adding a fresh unit to a race of sinners and was expiated by the sin-offering. Thankfulness for the childbirth and full consecration to God were betokened by the burnt-offering or oblation. For the sin-offering a lamb was ordained for sacrifice, and for the burnt-offering a turtle-dove or a young pigeon. The young pigeon may have been an alternative rendered necessary by the migratory habits of the turtle-dove ; for 'the voice of the turtle' was not always 'heard in the land.' In the case of people too poor to provide a lamb for the sin-offering, a turtle-dove (or a young pigeon) was allowed to be offered in this case as well as in the case of the burnt-offering (Lev. xii. 8). These animals were constantly exposed for sale in Solomon's Portico to intending sacrificers.

So it came to pass that, in the year reckoned as 4 B.C., Mary and the infant Jesus set out from Bethlehem to the south-west of Jerusalem to make the five or six miles journey between it and the Temple.

Their journey along a defile between the hills would bring them at length towards that south-western pinnacle or adjunct of the Temple building which, towering above the valley, was later to be a scene in the Temptation of Jesus. We must picture the little party taking their offerings with them, for we can hardly imagine the Mother of our Lord falling consciously or unconsciously into the error of purchasing them within even the least sacred court of the Temple. She brought no lamb, however. She was too poor for that. Without dwelling for the space of so much as one word on her poverty, the reticent Luke simply says that she brought two doves.

Arrived at the Temple, the infant Jesus is carried for the first time into that Treasury court whose pavement He was afterwards to tread so often.

No people—not even the British aristocracy—have ever been so meticulously particular as to their family pedigrees as the Hebrews, as many genealogical chapters in both Testaments show. The great families of the nation—and none were so great as that of David—had special cause for this. In his biographies we see that all men, even the blind beggar at Jericho, and the children in the *Hieron*,¹ knew that Jesus was a son of David. He himself on one occasion, as He taught in the *Hieron*, appealed to this fact as an unanswerable argument in favour of His being the expected Messiah, and no man gainsaid Him. Why? Because the presentation in the Temple was an official act and secured legal evidence that to Mary and Joseph—rank coming through the father—there was born a son named Jesus who was of the royal line. Both parents

¹ Luke xviii. 38; Matt. xxi. 15.

were present, and the entry being made in the national records, kept in the Chamber of the Nazirites, was both accessible and irrevocable.

This done, Mary delivered up her doves to a priest to offer on her behalf. The priest takes first one dove for the sin-offering and, while he sprinkles its blood upon the side of the great altar in front of the sanctuary, Mary prostrates herself in prayer in the court where she remained. Then she no doubt would ascend to the raised gallery of the court in order that she might at least see the smoke of her burnt-offering ascending from the remote altar as a 'sweet savour unto the Lord.'

There would be few to notice the peasant woman and her child, nor to dream what the child was to become. For, once more contrary to English prepossessions, we are not to imagine anything of the nature of a worshipping congregation in the Temple, except perhaps at the great festivals. The worship was personal and individual and not a corporate act. A person bringing a sacrifice or an offering would attract no more attention than a woman kneeling in a side chapel in a modern Roman Catholic church at any hour of the day. Around Mary and her infant there would be people coming and going on their own errands, each quite independent of the rest and of her.

Nevertheless, Mary had a little group of her kinsfolk and acquaintance about her on that, to her, most memorable day. Joseph was at her side, and perhaps Elizabeth, the wife of Zacharias, her aged kinswoman. Two other aged persons are attracted to the little party there in the Treasury court, attracted apparently by that divine insight which is sometimes given to the

devout in their extreme old age. One of them is a certain Simeon to whom it has been given by the Holy Ghost to know that he should not see death before he had seen the Lord's anointed One. Another was Anna, a prophetess, who was in the habit of spending much of the time now left to her in prayer in the Temple. Night and day she was there, waiting in the dawn for the gates to open and lingering at sunset till the swift darkness had overtaken the watchmen who closed the gates behind her. These two, then, led by the Spirit, came into the Treasury at the very hour when Mary, having made her offerings through the priest, was reclaiming her firstborn from Temple service in the customary fashion, the Levites having long ago actually taken the place of the firstborn. As the old man Simeon approaches, Mary seems to have instinctively held out her child to him, and he 'received' Him into his own arms and spoke undying words while he folded the infant to his breast. By this time other stragglers have been drawn to the pathetic little scene, and to them Anna speaks, assured that they too are looking for the redemption of Jerusalem.

It is one of the most moving incidents in history. The officials of the Temple are going on their own way, heedless of it. The priests by this time are offering the sacrifices of other worshippers. The little group in a corner of the court are entirely lay and unofficial. Not a priest is with them of all the thousands of priests always in Jerusalem. It is a group of simple peasant people, unknown and unnoticed. But the world's destiny is in the making among them. The Kingdom is being born which is to be greater than the Temple,

greater than Jerusalem, greater than the Roman Empire itself.

And now that all things are accomplished the little group breaks up. Mary, with Joseph beside her, passes out of the Temple into the city. No passer-by turns his head to look at her, but she carries in her arms the Hope of Israel and of the world. And she knows it. She knew it before that day. She had rejoiced in it through all those silent months since the Annunciation. But that day a new, strange word had been said in her hearing by that grave old man. 'A sword shall pierce through thine own soul,' he had said. No shepherds, no one of the Magi, had said a word like that to her; no angel had foretold it. She had not heard it till that day. She was to know in after years how true it was. But for the present the three returned to Bethlehem; and though they were often again to be in Jerusalem, we do not know that either of them ever went again to Bethlehem after this long visit there.

One of Herod's last atrocities was his slaughter of the holy innocents of Bethlehem. The wise men's question—'Where is He that is *born* King of the Jews?'—was exactly one to excite his jealousy. He was not *born* a Jew, much less King of the Jews, and he trembled for the retention of the throne in his family. That he made careful inquiry of the Magi what time the star appeared, and grounded thus his action in slaughtering all those babies under two years of age, is recorded by Matthew; but it does not follow that the infant Jesus was then of that age. The probabilities are all the other way. We have seen that Herod died on the 30th March, 4 B.C. If we suppose the Incarnation to

have taken place on the Christmas Day before this, we have but to find room for the forty days preceding the presentation in the Temple and for the few hours' visit of the Magi, to allow of the flight into Egypt occurring shortly before the massacre and death of the monster. The stay in Egypt was a short one, perhaps of a few days' length only. News of the Bethlehem murders would soon be followed by that of the murderer's death.

No mother's heart, however, was much comforted when Herod's son, Archelaus, took his dead father's place, pending an appeal to Cæsar as to the interpretation of Herod's will. The holy family had sojourned in Egypt till Herod's death, and on their return were as much afraid as ever to remain in Judæa, for Archelaus, in spite of an official visit to the Temple and other attempts to win over the people, was already in disfavour with them, and they inclined to resentment. In April the Passover was held. A great multitude of Jews had come up, as usual, from all parts of the Empire to Jerusalem. The general talk was of Herod's recent outrage upon the men who had cut down the golden eagle. Archelaus had refused to avenge this outrage. The multitude became so enraged thereupon that he found it necessary to call out the whole army in order to keep in check the people who crowded the Temple courts or had pitched their tents for the Passover outside the Temple area. Blood flowed. Three thousand men were slain and others fled to the mountains or hastened to their homes before the Passover was ended. The Temple was defiled with dead bodies—slain like sacrifices themselves. The very kinsmen of Archelaus were vehemently

against him. But Rome was reluctant to intervene. The Feast of Pentecost, in June, brought the people together again, who now were as indignant with Rome as with Archelaus. Remembering the Passover assault, they defended the Temple hill on the western side, where it was most open to attack, and proceeded to lay siege to the Roman garrison in the city. A battle ensued in the Tyropœan Valley. From the roofs of the porticoes which formed and surrounded the outer court of the Temple, they cast stones down upon the Romans advancing on them from the west, and assailed them with sling and bow. At last the Romans in Antonia set fire to the cloisters or porticoes on their western extension. A good deal of combustible builders' material still lay about, and the fire catching hold immediately, the vast works on this side, from the north to south, were destroyed utterly; the Jews standing upon the burning roofs either were killed by the Romans or else killed themselves, and so got out of their misery. Not one of them escaped. In the strife and confusion on the Temple hill the Temple treasure was looted, and some of the Jewish soldiery capitulated to the Romans. The whole country was presently in a ferment of disorder.

At length the Roman forces were augmented and two thousand of the revolting Jews were crucified. The Jewish people sent ambassadors to Rome to lay their view of the case before Augustus, but for the present in vain. Archelaus was established in his position and made some attempt to govern. By the year A.D. 6 the principal men of the subject race, being no longer able to bear his barbarous and tyrannical usage, accused him once more before Cæsar. This

time they were successful. Archelaus was banished to Vienne, a city of Gaul, and died there. Thus the Jews by their own act were deprived of even the semblance of independence. Henceforth they became frankly a Roman province without so much as a vassal King. Their true King, if they had but known it, was a son of David,¹ now ten years of age, away in the remote Galilean village of Nazareth, still subject to his parents. The Hope of Israel was the carpenter's son, whom the nation was to reject in its turn.

¹ So widespread was the knowledge as to those who were members of the royal family that even the Syro-Phœnician woman's appeal was, 'Have mercy on me, O Lord, thou son of David.' The genealogies of Matthew and Luke are both genealogies of Joseph, the supposed father of Jesus. Matthew gives the royal descent through Solomon; Luke gives the natural descent through Nathan. This may be explained by remembering that the late Queen Victoria inherited the throne of William IV, but was herself the child of Edward Duke of Kent. Both lines met in George III. Those of Joseph in David.

CHAPTER VII

THE MINISTRY OF JESUS IN JERUSALEM

THE events of the stormy reign of Archelaus help us very materially to understand why the *Hieron* was so long in rebuilding. During that ten years it could hardly be that the work was appreciably advanced. Intestine war is incompatible with building operations in any case. In this case it did more than hinder. If, as is probable, the cloisters burnt down during the war were the whole of those which looked down on the Tyropœan Valley, then it is evident that the Temple was not only not advanced during the ten years of the reign of Archelaus, but also that it was actually in a less advanced state at the end of that time than at the beginning. Twelve hundred feet were destroyed and may not have been as yet replaced.

The New Testament is as silent about Roman and Jewish history in this period as Josephus is about the history of Christianity. New Testament historians are concerned mainly with a 'Kingdom which is not of this world,' and they only refer incidentally to the current history of nations, and at points where Christianity happens to touch national affairs. Such points of contact are connected with the paying and farming of Roman taxes, or with the Sanhedrin, the one Jewish national institution which survived the

suppression of the monarchy. The Sanhedrin continued to exercise authority, temporal as well as spiritual, when its political power was gone. Its criminal procedure was absolute still, except that its capital sentences had to be confirmed by the Roman procurator before they could take effect. It maintained a Levitical police force and had its two court houses within the *Hieron*, between the Treasury and the Grand Portico. The civil administration of Jerusalem thus curbed came to be far better under the Roman rule than it had been under the Idumean princes.

The administration of religion under the wise and tolerant government of the Romans enjoyed the same advantages as before. It was not the policy of Rome to interfere more than was absolutely necessary with the local affairs of her subject provinces. As we have seen, it was not Rome, but the Jews themselves who were responsible for the suppression of the monarchy, and Rome had no desire whatever to suppress the hierarchy. Hence it was that worship and instruction went on in the Temple quite without hindrance or interference from the Imperial Government.

'Instruction' as well as 'worship'—for every Synagogue was a day-school for children. Perhaps the statement that there was a Synagogue within the *Hieron* arose from the fact that, to adults also, more or less informal instruction in the Jewish religion was commonly given there.¹ One such instance is notable in the New Testament story. In the year A.D. 8,

¹ In the Temple there was a special receptacle—that 'of the secret'—for contributions for the education of the children of the pious poor (Edersheim).

when a company of pilgrims were returning to their home in Galilee from the Passover in Jerusalem, it was found that the child Jesus, now twelve years old, was not in the company. His parents left the company and went back to find their child seated not in the Synagogue, but among the doctors in the Temple. By a natural affinity, stronger than that of earthly parentage, the boy had recognized, during this first visit to the Temple, that His true home, His Father's house and business, was there at the seat of religion. The Rabbis had never met a pupil so apt. His understanding and attention, His questions and His answers, betokened a new insight for divine things, and they were amazed. The silence of the evangelist as to any sort of amazement on the part of the boy Himself is one of the numberless indications in the Gospels that their portraiture of Jesus is inspired by a divine instinct rather than by the ordinary standards of literature and biography. Luke simply records that the boy was so sure of His true home and calling that His only wonder was that His parents should not have recognized it too. The divine in the boy's nature is already seen to be not acquired, but essential—as essential as His true humanity, which ensures that He shall still be subject to His parents when they resume their belated journey homewards to Nazareth. Long afterwards Mary told Luke how she had kept all these things in her heart, telling them to no one. One wonders whether any of the doctors suspected that the appearance of the boy among them was till then the greatest event that had happened in the Temple's history. 'The Lord, whom ye seek,' said Malachi, 'shall suddenly come to His Temple.' He had come!

For the next two decades there is little record of events connected with the Temple. During those years three procurators are successively appointed in the province : Marcus Ambivius gives place to Annius Rufus, who in turn is succeeded by Gratus in the year of the accession of the Emperor Tiberius. It is not till the appointment of Pontius Pilate to be procurator, in the year A.D. 25, that we once more hear of Jesus. About this time He came to be baptized by John the Baptist in Jordan. That He must often have visited the Temple in the meantime may be taken as certain, but there is no record of it.

We know, however, that during this period the Temple was the focus of the religious and social life of the Jewish people. Before the rising of each day's sun there was a sacrifice and an offering of incense, the Temple gates having been opened at the order of the President of the Temple as soon as the city was plainly visible in the morning twilight. The morning sacrifice was thus completed before sunrise, in order that there might be no possibility of connecting it in the minds of the worshippers with the service of Baal, the great sun-god and the early rival of Jehovah. Throughout the day individual sacrifice and offering continued till the offering of the evening sacrifice at three o'clock. In the outer courts people were coming and going the whole day through, some to make their private and personal offerings, some to teach or to learn; some merely to enjoy social intercourse, some to attend the administration of justice in the Sanhedrin courts. Children gathered in the Treasury and sang loud songs to words of their own selection.

The Temple priesthood was itself the most con-

spicuous corporation in Jerusalem. Reference has already been made to their large numbers, large even when allowance has been made for possible exaggeration on the part of the historians. The priesthood was a hereditary office, and its members were divided into twenty-four families or classes, which were again subdivided into smaller groups. All of them were descended from Aaron and were thus in theory equally sacred, but there were nevertheless many minor social disparities among them, as is the case with, for instance, the Roman Catholic priesthood of our own times. The high priests, however, were usually drawn from a few superior families—the office had long ceased to be hereditary—and it was not an unknown thing for these superior families to oppress and even to rob their poorer brethren. For this reason many of the inferior priesthood were, like the people, much opposed to the Roman overlordship, which gave the superior priesthood a commanding place and voice in the Sanhedrin and entrusted them with civil as well as ecclesiastical power. Every candidate for the priesthood was obliged to satisfy the Sanhedrin as to his genealogy and that he was free from the bodily infirmities described in Leviticus xxi. before he was allowed to take part in the Temple services. There was, moreover, a subordinate and assistant order of officials known as Levites whose duties, though sacred, were of an inferior type. The distinction was analogous to, though much more marked than, the case of an assistant priest's relation to the incumbent under whom he serves in the Anglican Church. The relations of the two orders are given in Numbers xviii. 6-7.

The priesthood was richly endowed in these times.

As in earlier times, the firstfruits of agriculture were assigned to them, the poorest crop of mint, anise and cummin being punctiliously tithed. Godet, on Romans xi. 16, maintains that even a certain portion of the bread baked in Jewish households formed a part of the priests' income, though it seems possible that St. Paul might have been surprised to read this exegesis of his commentator. They retained, when ministering, a share of the carcasses of the animals offered in sacrifice, and even the skins of those animals which were consumed in burnt-offering. These when added to the portions of the meal-offerings and other unbloody sacrifices assigned to them must have provided the priests with commodities of very considerable market value. If ever a priest, or even a Levite, died through want, the blame was due to the occasional fraud and rapacity of other priests rather than to failure at the sources of supply.¹

Except at the great festivals, each priest was only occasionally on duty. The order in which he served was determined by lot drawn within the class to which he belonged—each class serving for a week at a time. Indeed, the more sacred duties would fall to a given priest no more than once in a lifetime. During their period of service minute precautions were taken to ensure their ceremonial cleanness and legal purity.

From the baptism of our Lord onward to the time of His Passion, a period covering about three years and ending in the year A.D. 30, we have little record of His presence in Jerusalem. The three synoptic Gospels represent His ministry as having been exercised almost entirely in Galilee, and as their story follows His

¹ *Ant.* xx. 8 § 8.

ministry rather than the history of the Jews in general, we find little or nothing recorded by them concerning the Temple, except on those occasions when the Temple was visited by Jesus. One such visit is no doubt to be regarded as visionary rather than actual. A pinnacle or wing (πτερύγιον) of the Temple is given as the scene of one of the acts in the drama of the Temptation. The story has at least this historical value, that the use of the definite article by both evangelists who tell the story indicates the wing as a prominent and well-known feature in the Temple structure. It was probably the detached building standing above the south-eastern escarpment, that giddy elevation about which Josephus allows his imagination to play upon occasion. (See *Pastophoria* in Index.)

At the Passover, which preceded His first miracle in Cana of Galilee, Jesus had gone to Jerusalem and, during the feast, had spoken many words calling attention to His claims, and made some not very stable converts (John ii. 23). Some of His fellow-Galileans hearing these, wished Him to repeat them in Galilee (John iv. 45); just as the men of Nazareth wished Him to do in His own country what extraordinary things they had heard He had done at Capernaum (Luke iv. 23).

These are but surface indications of the intense activity of the earlier years of the Divine Ministry. There is, however, this to be observed, that during these years Jesus shrank from much miracle-working in Jerusalem. He did not wish to foment the hostility of the priests. He was often heard to say, 'Mine hour is not yet come,' as if to bridle Himself in; and on one notable occasion we are allowed to see the inner

workings of His mind when He saw a fit object of His compassion. Passing along one of the streets of the city He saw a man blind from his birth. His tender heart pitied the man, and as He was considering what He should do and how, the disciples raised the theological question as to why the man was blind from birth. Waiving aside their rabbinical subtleties, Jesus thought aloud thus: 'I must work the works of Him that sent Me in spite of all misrepresentation, and be careless of consequences. The night of death is coming, and I must finish the work given Me to do, no matter who objects. After all, I am sent as the Light of the World, and it is fittingly done if I enlighten this poor man.' So He made clay and healed him. Of all the hubbub that followed, the ninth and tenth chapters of John are full.

This occurred about the middle of the three years' ministry, and seems to mark the point at which Jesus broke the reserve hitherto maintained as to miracles in Jerusalem. He may in these years have attended ten great festivals, but His earlier work there was to preach, to argue, to convince, and not to exasperate and infuriate His foes.

Luke mentions, but only incidentally, a ghastly tragedy which is only too likely to have been actual. While Jesus was in Galilee some persons arrived there with the news that Pilate had mingled the blood of certain unfortunate Galileans with that of their own sacrifices. That the incident is nowhere else referred to is the proof of what we know from other sources, namely, that legal prosecutions and even executions in the most sacred surroundings were by no means uncommon nor worthy of special note. These Gali-

leans were, or were suspected to be, adherents of Judas of Galilee, the founder of the Zealots, who had gone up to the Temple for one of the great festivals and had met their death in the tragic fashion of which we have but a glimpse.

The times, indeed, were pregnant with disaster. Herod Antipas, the Tetrarch of Galilee, whose conscience would never allow him to forget the beheading of John the Baptist, would very willingly have put Jesus out of the way in like manner. At all events, the Pharisees so represented the matter to Jesus, themselves not unwilling to get rid of the Prophet of Galilee at any cost. This appears to have been the occasion of that itinerary of Jesus through cities and villages southward, with Jerusalem as its goal, which led to the pathetic lament over the city which is recorded by St. Matthew and St. Luke. It is extremely probable that the lament was uttered when at last the city came into view from some height upon the southward road—Scopus gives such a view—and we shall see that it was afterwards repeated during a journey from Bethany over the Mount of Olives towards the city from the other side. In every respect the Temple was of course the most striking feature of the view. Repeated acts of sacrilege had defiled it, the tragedy of the Galileans being the most recent of them, and the majority of the Jews themselves had rejected the protection and love of Jesus, associated as these were with His claims to the Messiahship. Henceforth the house which had been 'My Father's house' in the mind of Jesus, the place where from His twelfth year 'My Father's business' had had its home, was now become merely 'your house.' Its sacredness had

departed ; it had become but one among the other secular buildings of the city ; its virtual ' desolation ' was already achieved.

There is a phrase in the lament of Jesus on this occasion which may be understood to indicate that He had not been absent from Jerusalem so entirely as the silence of the synoptists might lead us to suppose. ' How often would I have gathered thy children . . . and ye would not.' This appears to imply that He must have made repeated appeals to them in the city itself, for ' thy children ' would hardly have been a description of the Jews in Galilee nor even of those comparatively few Jews from Jerusalem who had journeyed into Galilee and had withstood Him. Thus we are prepared to believe in the historicity of the visits which the Fourth Gospel alone records. In any case, the Fourth Gospel affords much documentary evidence regarding the Temple buildings, evidence quite independent of the question whether Jesus was actually present or not.

The chronological structure of the Fourth Gospel depends very much upon those visits of Jesus to the great festivals at Jerusalem which must have been regarded as extremely likely to have happened even if we had possessed only the synoptic narratives. The first of them was the occasion for one of those cleansings of the Temple courts which this Gospel, as well as the synoptists, records, and which these evangelists recognized as the fulfilment of ancient prophetic words of Malachi and the Psalms. In Solomon's Portico a sort of occasional mart had been established by Annas and the Sadducean members of his large family for the sale of oxen, sheep, and doves

required for sacrifice. Moreover, the financial conditions of those times necessitated a double currency in Judæa, native and Roman. Possibly Greek coins also were current there at this time. There was just enough regard for national sentiment and sacred associations to forbid the use of coins bearing the image of alien monarchs in transactions connected with the Temple. Hence the opportunity for the benches of money-changers among the market stalls, and for a lucrative financial business of the sort for which the Jews are still famous. The whole scene was little in harmony with the mission of Jesus. The evangelists naïvely tell us that He made a scourge of cords and cast all out of the court—sheep, oxen, and traffickers—and poured out the changers' money, and overthrew their tables, urging indignantly that His Father's house was no place for merchandise. Of course the Jews might have pleaded that they did not regard the Portico as a part of the Temple at all, nor as having any sacredness. The strange thing is that the hucksters appear to have urged no objection of this sort, nor of any sort, and to have allowed themselves to be driven out by this as yet unknown prophet from Nazareth. It is a testimony to the majestic power inherent in the personality of Jesus. No scourge of cords could have availed without that personality behind it. There are other incidents recorded of Him where the same striking influence upon men subdued them at sight, as when the soldiers in Gethsemane 'went backward and fell to the ground.'

The market in the Temple Portico was one newly established by the Ananus family of the High Priesthood, who were all of the Sadducean sect. As such

they would be opposed by the whole fraternity of the Pharisees, who were zealous for every item of the law, though no item in that law touched this particular point. It was with the moral support of this party that Jesus succeeded in cleansing the Portico without causing a riot.

But the Jewish officials of the Temple, though then under Sadducean influence, did not acquiesce in this drastic expulsion without at least asking for some confirmatory sign of the authority of Jesus to do these things, as if the expulsion itself had not been a sufficient sign. Hereupon we are introduced to a passage which causes some embarrassment to an historian. Jesus responded to their demand by giving a sign of the conventional sort so far as the terms of it were concerned, but one which nevertheless eluded their understanding. 'Destroy this Temple,' said He, 'and in three days I will raise it up.' The Jews replied, 'In forty and six years was this Temple built, and wilt Thou raise it up in three days?' But Jesus, the evangelist explains, was speaking of the Temple of His body, and may have indicated that by a gesture which the Jews, at all events, did not notice or remember.

The forty-six years mentioned may fix the date of the incident at about A.D. 26, though the tense of the verb might indicate a later time. That, however, is a secondary matter. The embarrassment lies in the word used of the Temple. Had that word been '*hieron*' there would have been no difficulty at all, for the whole structure indicated by that word had been about that length of time in building and was by no means completed yet. Moreover, the con-

versation was taking place in either the Portico or immediately outside it. But the word used was not '*hieron*,' but '*naos*.' Now the *Naos* had been completed, as other records tell us, in less than two years. What could the Jews mean by saying that it had been forty-six years in building? It was not the *Naos* but the *Hieron* that had thus been dragging out the process of its construction.

It was Jesus Himself who introduced the word *naos* or its Aramaic equivalent. 'Destroy this *naos*,' said He. It would have been a sufficiently effective reply to say 'eighteen months was this *Naos* in building.' Or they might have said, 'Forty and six years was this *Hieron* in building.' But they did not say either of these things. They take up Jesus' own word and wrongly allocate their forty-six years to it. It would be natural to surmise that here is a confusion of terms, that they say *naos* when they mean *hieron*; but against that surmise must be placed the remarkable fact that nowhere else in the New Testament are the words used interchangeably, the *Naos* is always the *Naos* and never the *Hieron*.

The error may be put down to the excitement of the moment and the captious wish to snatch a victory in a wordy warfare which compelled the Jews to use the same word as had been just uttered. How strong was the disputation and how bitterly remembered is shown by the two former evangelists, each of whom records the taunt of the Crucifixion, 'Ah, Thou that destroyest the Temple, and buildest it in three days, save Thyself, and come down from the cross.'

On the whole, if a solution of the problem must be indicated, we lean to the conclusion, indicated in a

previous chapter, that both the ' forty-six years ' of John and the ' quite finished ' note of time in Josephus in A.D. 65—these last involving a period of eighty years from the foundation—are explicable by all the facts of the case when taken together, and refer to the whole completed structure of *Naos*, *Hieron*, and the outer Porticoes. One of these factors is the imperious and ambitious character of the man who built the Temple. The sole reason Herod gave for wishing to rebuild the second Temple was the lowness of its central tower. It is unlikely that this main incentive, springing as it did out of an unbridled ambition and the man's precarious and unpopular position as King of the Jews, should have been left unsatisfied for the last twelve years of his life. Rather we might infer that it was the first portion so completed. How then do we deal with the chronology ?

Part of the answer will be found in looking at the facts of history, which are these:—So soon as Archelaus succeeded his father, one-third of all the Herodian porticoes, or two furlongs of them, were burnt down. These must have been slowly rebuilt in succeeding years out of Temple revenues, and may account for the ' forty-six years,' these being thirty years after their first completion by Herod, and twenty years after the conflagration. Archelaus was not the man to contribute to their restoration, and on his removal Cyrenius and his tax-gatherers fell upon the land like locusts. Peter and his Master were not the only ones who had not the wherewithal to satisfy the voluntary contribution of a silver stater for the Temple.

When that stormy petrel of Jewish history, Gessius Florus, appeared upon the scene, the Jews, as an act

of military tactics, cut off both the northern and western porticoes from communication with the garrison in Antonia, as they led directly to the entrance to the barracks. This was in the second year of his governorship and the twelfth of the reign of Nero. The next year the war with Rome began, and it is to the completion of the repair of these several acts of vandalage that Josephus refers when he says the Temple was now 'quite finished.' Five years later all was ruin.

Another part of the answer may be read in the pages of Josephus, who would probably be greatly surprised could he know that anyone raised a doubt that Herod finished the *Naos* of his own Temple. He tells us that one of four gates overlooking the Tyropœan Valley—which he very properly describes as 'the intermediate valley'—led to the King's palace. But he does not add, as he might have done, that when the intermediate valley was crossed the King entered a subterranean passage—still existing and in part explored—which took him to the precincts of his own palace on the west of the city. What he does tell us is that there was a short underground passage built for the King which led from Antonia to the inner Temple at its eastern gate. This underground passage is known to Josephus as Strato's Tower, and to the Jerusalem archæologist as tank No. 3, and is reported to have been at a later date used as entrance to a bath by the priests of the Temple. Its original use, the historian tells us, was that, in case of any rebellion, the King might have an underground way to the Temple Porch from his own castle of Antonia. Coming from his palace in the short connection between the Royal or

Warren's Gate and the Tadi Gate he would be attended by the soldiery from the garrison, as were the earlier Kings of Judah in their approaches to the Temple.

The most interesting as well as the most conclusive fact stated by Josephus is his reference to the King's oratory in the words, ' Above the Eastern Gate of the inner Temple he also erected for himself a Tower " (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 5, 7).

CHAPTER VIII

THE NEW TEACHING

THE action of Jesus in cleansing the Temple court, referred to in the foregoing chapter, gives emphasis to a saying of His to a woman of Samaria on His next journey northward. 'Woman,' said He, 'the hour cometh when neither in this mountain [Gerizim] nor in Jerusalem, shall ye worship the Father.' He added, 'The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth.' Jesus foresaw all too clearly what the end must inevitably be. The centuries of localized worship in Jerusalem were drawing to a close. Already spiritual worship was ceasing, or had ceased, in the Temple, with the death of Anna, Zacharias, Simeon, and others of that generation; and even now the souls of men were seeking direct access to God, without intervention of priest or ritual or sacred place. How true that forecast of Jesus was we shall see in the course of the story of the ensuing years.

During the two years immediately following that conversation there is but little history of the Temple of the sort which a contemporary historian would note. It was 'not with observation' that the Kingdom of God was brought into the affairs of men. We read of Jesus habitually walking in the Temple courts, and

finding there men, singly or in groups, who were willing to listen to His teaching or were drawn into the ranks of His auditors by mere hostility to Him and His few disciples.

The Fourth Gospel records the matter of His teaching. It is no doubt a compilation made a generation afterwards, and not necessarily in the actual order of the words that were spoken. It may even be a translation as well as a compilation, for we may reasonably suppose that He spoke the contemporary native dialect of His people, the late form of Hebrew known as Aramaic, as well as the Greek language then current in the Roman Empire. At all events the discourses which have come down to us in the Fourth Gospel are, with other discourses spoken in Galilee, the primary documents of the Christian faith. They probably attracted but little attention at the time; they were but a very minor incident in the life of the crowds of people who flocked to the great annual festivals in the Temple; and yet they were the most important events in the world's history. Before many centuries were over they were to become the official faith of the Roman Empire itself, little as anybody dreamt of such a thing in the days of Jesus, and subsequently the whole history of at least the Western world has been profoundly modified by the teaching of the obscure Galilean prophet who moved among indifferent or hostile people in the Temple courts. He was Himself greater than the Temple.

The teaching was probably more incidental and less systematic than it now appears in the ordered compilation. But the document preserves, nevertheless, many of the occasions which gave rise to it and deter-

mined its course. Jesus meets with a man in the Temple courts whom He had cured of paralysis, and tells him that a sinful soul is a worse thing than a disabled body. The scene of this miracle—the pool of Bethesda—lay in the upper portion of the Tyropœan Valley and near Josephus' Gate of the Sanctuary. It consisted of five arches or porches standing around a central pool, the sixth side being probably an open gateway to the water. The troubling of its water shows that, like the Virgin's spring in the Kidron Valley, it was intermittently fed by gushes of water finding their way through the limestone rocks from the Lebanon range ; but the Jews did not know this. It was used for the purpose of washing animals before being taken to the altar—hence the name of the neighbouring gate—Sheep Gate. All traces of it have been long lost, but are now said to have been recovered. The cure of the impotent man there is one of the miracles peculiar to John's Gospel, and was objected to because done on the Sabbath.

In the Temple courts Jesus encounters people who marvel that a Galilean should be able to discourse of religion at all, and tells them that not technical knowledge of the Rabbinic or Mosaic laws, but an obedient disposition of heart is the legitimate and wide-open way to knowledge of doctrine ; He stands with people to witness libations of water from Siloam carried in a golden vessel by a procession of priests to pour over the altar at the morning sacrifice, and teaches them that true religion is a perennial source of living water in a man's own soul ; early in the morning He beholds the light of the rising sun as it makes the gilding of the Temple shine refulgent, and discourses of the true

light, of Himself as the light of the world, of His teaching as the light of truth ; certain Greek proselytes among the worshippers unable to see Him in the Treasury where He usually taught, take steps to obtain an interview with Him, and His soul is filled with the vision of the ultimate glory, even through seeming dissolution and death, of the Son of Man and His frontierless Kingdom. The sight of the golden vine hanging on one of the Temple openings occasions a discourse of the vital source of fruitfulness to be found only in union with the divine. He is sitting one day in the Treasury court, in what may have been His usual seat, when a poor widow casts into one of the Treasury chests her whole poor living as a gift, and He remarks to the disciples about Him that the true measure of a gift is not what is given, but what is retained. Occasionally the Jewish officials notice the teaching and the Teacher and disdainfully ask what is His authority ; and the evangelists relate the astute dilemma by which He is able to turn the question upon themselves. At another time, when the cold winds of winter were swirling in the Portico as He walked there with His disciples, He gently relieves the suspense of their downcast minds by reminding them, in the hearing of hostile Jews, that the shepherd will care for the sheep however cold the blast may be.

In this sporadic way the seeds of the Christian Kingdom were sown. The discourses must be carefully and devoutly read, and in their setting, if they are to be rightly appreciated. This is not a theological treatise, nor even a history of the beginnings of Christianity, and so this is not the place for even a summary of the weighty words which laid deep and firm the principles

upon which Christianity is built. What we are concerned with here is the fact that these two or three years were the most notable in the whole history of the Temple, notwithstanding the parallel fact that the significance of the teaching of Jesus was either ignored or withstood by the contemporary people who figure in the secular history of the period. More than once these people or their followers took up the builders' stones, which lay plentifully in or around the still unfinished building, and hurled them at the meek but intrepid Teacher. Many of His words were keen, pungent, and corrosive, but no man was ever so sure of himself or of his mission. Even in argument and when smarting under insult, His voice was never raised. To the greybeards of the hierarchy it was not one of the least of His demerits that it was as impossible to confute Him in debate as it was to rouse Him to visible anger. From such labours and assaults He retired to Bethany, over the hill, where one little household was loyal to Him throughout, but He never shirked His perilous duty, and was daily to be found, from early morning onwards, walking or sitting in the Temple courts and speaking concerning the new Kingdom to any who would listen. And it is indicated in the synoptic Gospels that He once found it necessary to repeat the dramatic scourging of the traffickers in the Temple which has already been recorded. The majestic bearing of His person having cowed the stall-keepers of the Temple in the early part of His ministry, there is no reason why it should not have done so at its close. During these years Jesus appears to have attended most, if not all, the great festivals of the Jewish religion, observed in the Temple three

times a year. He also attended one festival which was not of Mosaic origin. The 'Feast of the Dedication' of the Temple was a national thanksgiving held annually in commemoration of the restoration of the Temple service by Judas Maccabeus in 165-164 B.C. It began about the 20th of December and lasted eight days. This was the festival which was being held on the wintry day when Jesus spoke of the Shepherd. Doubtless our Lord's aim in being thus, as it appears, punctilious in His attendance at these festivals was not solely that He might 'fulfil all righteousness.' That was certainly one of the principles which guided Him in the observance of the ecclesiastical law of the land. But there was also the other purpose which brought Him to the Temple on these occasions—the desire to be present whenever great numbers of people were assembled who might listen to His teaching. Once we read that He hungered on the way to the Temple from Bethany where he had lodged during the night. In His eagerness to return thither in time for the sacrifice at dawn He had evidently not broken His fast. There is an indication that once at least Jesus spent some portion of the night within the Temple. The topographical note which prefaces the discourse concerning the vine, and another note which concludes the series of discourses which supplemented that of the vine, point to the Temple and to the night as the scene and time of these discourses. During the Passover week the Temple doors were open to all comers soon after midnight. So Josephus tells us.¹ Of course no sacrifices were being offered nor other

¹ *Ant.* xviii. 2 § 2. There may be here some reminiscence of the midnight departure of the Israelites from Egypt.

services observed during the night, and Jesus could only have been there at that time for that spiritual worship of which He had spoken to the woman in Samaria. It was His farewell visit. In an hour or two later He was to enter the Temple again, but under arrest.

Of course, Jesus never entered the sacred enclosure of the *Naos*. He was not of the priestly order and would not have been permitted to enter. Still less would He ever have sought to enter it as the true King of Israel and a descendant of David, for that would have been to provoke a breach of the peace, as it involved the whole question of His Messiahship, compromise here being impossible. His presence and His teaching were confined to the several courts of the *Hieron*. Being a Jew He was free to enter those courts of the *Hieron* from which Gentiles, even though they might be proselytes, were rigidly excluded. The Greeks who wished to see Jesus, therefore, must have been brought to Him in Solomon's Portico, which alone they were allowed to enter. The Treasury court (known also as the Court of the Women) seems to have been the usual scene of His teaching when no more precise location of it is given than the word *hieron*. Here the woman taken in adultery was brought to Him, and here certainly many of the incidents previously alluded to occurred. We are not often able to locate His presence in the Court of Jewish Men (from which women as well as Gentiles were excluded); but once, at all events, we certainly find Him there. This was on the occasion of the libation of water upon the altar. The Fourth Gospel uses an expression here which indicates that our Lord's utterance in this case was not in the manner of conversation, but in

the louder tone suitable to an exclamation—He ‘stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto Me and drink.’ Other instances of our Lord’s public appeals in the Temple are given in John vii. 28 and xii. 44, where He is said to have ‘cried’ and testified as to certain truths. These details have their confirmation in the fact that ever since the days of the Sadducean High Priest Alexander Janneas, the attendant worshippers of the Pharisees’ sect had been in the habit of shouting approving or disapproving remarks to the officiating priest during this ceremony of the libation. The exclamation of Jesus inviting disciples was by no means of the conventional sort. It at once arrested attention. It appeared to the hearers to be nothing less than a claim to be the Messiah. A spirited controversy arose on the spot and spread among the people. The Temple police were soon afoot, ‘and some of them would have taken Jesus; but no man laid hands on Him.’ The officers went back to the Sanhedrin chamber without their prisoner and with no excuse for their negligence but the naïve profession, ‘Never man spake like this Man’—one more indication of the strange and dominating influence inherent in the person of Jesus, and manifested upon occasion.

The place allowed to Gentiles in the Temple at this period claims a passing note. It has already been stated that the Portico alone was assigned to their use, and that not even a proselyte could penetrate further than the limits of that court. The Jews would have been very content if they had been allowed to exclude Gentiles from even that court. Not having it in their power to do this, they did the thing which seemed to

them to be the next best, they adopted and promulgated the fiction that the Portico was not a part of the Temple at all. This studied attempt to secularize a portion of the fabric of the Temple is one that is full of meaning for a reader of the New Testament. The worldly minded and wicked Herod was wiser in his generation than the children of light, inasmuch as he secured for the non-Jew a standing-ground within the sacred enclosure, where the public reading of the Law might be heard, where the chanted psalms also were audible, and where a Gentile might have some part, if a distant and indirect part, in the worship of Jehovah. As a matter of fact, he was not only wiser, but also a better exponent of the ecclesiastical law itself than its professed guardians. In Leviticus xxii. 25 it is distinctly implied that a sacrifice might be accepted from the hand of a foreigner, provided only that the sacrifice were without blemish. Schürer's wealth of learning has made it abundantly evident that in the later history of Judaism the Gentiles might and did participate in the worship of Jehovah at Jerusalem; 'and so,' he says, 'even the exclusive Temple at Jerusalem became in a certain sense cosmopolitan; it, too, received the homage of the whole world in common with the more celebrated structures of heathendom.'¹

The cleansing of this court by Jesus (whether on one or two occasions) coincided in each case with the ceremonial Passover cleansing of dwelling-houses from leaven—and of the city from malefactors—a suggestive synchronation which could hardly have been merely a coincidence. But one thing is clear, and that is that

¹ *The Jewish People*, vol. i., pp. 299–305.

it was not for being Gentiles, but for being secular traffickers that men were expelled by Him. Whether these men were Gentiles or Jews did not enter into the question at all. It was the sacredness of this court, as a portion of His 'Father's house,' that Jesus was defending, and not by any means the false idea of sacredness which would have closed it to foreigners. When Jesus met—in this very court—Greeks who were not traffickers but worshippers He by no means resented their presence there. On the contrary, He was stirred by strong emotions when He recognized in the fact of their presence a premonition of the larger growth of the Kingdom of God upon earth, emotions which were confirmed by a voice out of heaven in a burst of thunder. His rapt consciousness of the larger vision was so evident at the moment that the bystanders imagined that an angel spoke to Him. The event was the genesis of the missionary spirit in the Christian Church.

A still further example of the ampler spirit which Jesus was introducing into current conceptions of religion may be found in the story of the Pharisee and the publican. It is cited as a parable by the evangelist Luke, but the Pharisee, if not the publican, must often have been seen by Jesus just as He describes him. The man, conscious and vain-glorious in his unassailable rectitude, walks straight to the altar to offer his so-called prayer of self-adulation. The publican, on the contrary, only penetrates so far as to be able to see the altar, and there stops, on the twelfth step of the *soreg*. He goes, in fact, just so far as a Gentile proselyte might have gone. He regards himself as no better than 'the sinner' of the Gentiles. With

head bowed down he says as much, and with a gesture of penitence he craves merely for mercy. Jesus, with a startling reversal of current ideas, adds that it was this anti-nationalist publican, this farmer of taxes, who went down to his house justified, rather than the other. Humble penitence is to take precedence, in the new order, over conventional righteousness however exalted, and is to be, in the laws of the Kingdom of God, the condition of forgiveness.

Each of the three synoptic Gospels records a remark made by the disciples, or by one of them, as they with our Lord were leaving the Temple one day towards the end of the three years' ministry. The remark was made, as they climbed the steep of Olivet, to call forth the admiration of Jesus for the magnificence of the stones and buildings of the newly erected Temple, now approaching completion, and for the metal 'offerings' with which it was adorned. The remark itself was of no importance except as one of many indications of the striking splendour and stability of the edifice. It would not have been recorded but for the fact that it called forth from Jesus a discourse in the manner of an apocalyptic vision as far as possible removed from the acquiescent admiration which the disciples apparently expected.

But the remark itself is suggestive. We know already how well Herod's huge masonry merited all the praise that could be bestowed upon it. But what were the 'offerings' which adorned it? The Greek word used here in the sense of a votive offering is not so used in any other place in the New Testament. It occurs, however, in the same sense in 2 Macc. ix. 16, where Antiochus, smitten with 'bitter torments of the

inward parts,' vows to adorn the Jewish sanctuary with 'goodliest offerings.' That, of course, has reference to the previous Temple. As to the present Temple of Herod, Josephus tells us that 'round about the entire Temple were fixed the spoils formerly taken from barbarous nations; all these had been rededicated to the Temple by Herod, with the addition of those he had taken from the Arabians.' In later times additions were made to these, such as the golden chain of Agrippa, which was hung up over the Treasury ten years or more after this time. Herod's own gift of the golden vine with its vast clusters, 'a surprising delight to the spectators,'¹ would no doubt be included in the disciples' eulogy, though *Middoth* iii. 8 says that separate leaves, berries, or tendrils were, in some cases at least, individual freewill-offerings. These were possibly later additions.

The desire of Jesus was, however, indicated by no such things as these as He sat on the steep of Olivet. Already the inevitable catastrophe filled Him with thoughts quite different from those which occupied the minds of the disciples. While they beheld with admiration the masonry, built to last for ages, and the glittering shields, He foresaw the overthrow not only of the masonry, but also of the passing order of things spiritual of which the building was the token. The disciples had not been present when Jesus spoke to the woman of Samaria of the impending dissolution of worship in Jerusalem. To them, therefore, there came something of dismay when Jesus abruptly told them of the coming days in which not one stone should be left upon another of the brave buildings which they

¹ *Ant.* xv. 11 § 3; xix. 6 § 1.

beheld. How speedily that came to pass we shall have to record. If any pedantic literalist should say that even to this day stones of Herod's masonry are standing one upon another, we may be pedantically literal too, and say that these survivors are not stones which were 'beheld' by the disciples nor by anybody else till excavations of the foundations came to be painfully and laboriously made; and moreover, they are the substructions at the west side, and therefore equally invisible to the disciples who at the moment were on the east of the building.

But these puerilities are out of place in face of a discourse so profound as that which the disciples were now to hear. Passing up the slope of Olivet they perhaps remained silent in contemplation of the amazing announcement they had just heard. Arrived at the brow of the hill opposite to the Temple they turned to look at the building before the road to Bethany would take them out of sight of it. Then they made further inquiry of the Master. 'When, therefore, shall these things be?' 'What shall be the sign when these things are about to come to pass?' Their minds were slowly accommodating themselves to the appalling outlook, and were prepared for further details. It hardly needed supernatural vision to answer those questions. The pre-vision of a statesman was sufficient to forecast the outcome of the historic situation then existing. But the Master's vision goes further and deeper than the statesman's, and His reply to the questions is called apocalyptic because we ourselves even now cannot fathom its whole depth and still have to wait for its ultimate fulfilment. Just as all the grief of all the world is summarized in the eyes

of Leighton's figure in his picture of 'The Last Watch of Hero,' and not merely the particular grief of one woman, so the whole conflict of the Church is depicted in these words of Jesus, and not merely the impending overthrow of the Temple at Jerusalem. How truly a part of His prophecy was fulfilled in A.D. 70 we all by this time know. But it has come true in numberless other manifestations of that dire conflict with darkness and the powers of darkness which He foreknew who said, 'I am not come to send peace on earth, but a sword.' The first and most terrible act in that age-long drama was about to appear within the next few days. That every age has persecuted its prophets may be a lesson of history, but no age and no generation ever had a Prophet so well worth persecuting as this one, and nowhere before or since has the work been so thoroughly done.

CHAPTER IX

JESUS BEFORE THE SANHEDRIN

IN the meagre account which is all the Gospels give of the arrest and trial of Jesus, that crisis seems to burst upon us rather suddenly and unexpectedly. Jesus Himself had known that the current had for months been setting in that direction, but it was nevertheless an undercurrent—an undercurrent daily gathering strength which was not visible on the surface. The causes of it are not difficult to recognize. Jesus had freely and openly denounced the sins of the rich and the great ; He had exposed the true character of the men who were regarded as the leaders of religion ; He had espoused the cause of the common people ; He had raised Lazarus to life from the dead, thus shattering the teaching of the Sadducees as to the resurrection and so far destroying the influence of that party in the State—the party then in power ; in short, He was a dangerous character, to be got rid of at all costs and as quickly as possible. But though this had become the settled determination of the Jewish authorities, the difficult question for them was how to carry their determination into effect with some show of legality. If personal hatred towards Him could have been made the basis of a prosecution, there would have been no difficulty whatever. But envy was hardly

a matter which could be urged in legal procedure. To formulate charges which a Jewish court could constitutionally recognize was the embarrassing problem for the rulers. And behind that was a still further difficulty. The Jewish Sanhedrin had no longer the power to carry out a capital sentence without the confirmation of the Roman Government. Suppose, then, they should be able to get evidence enough of a sort to secure His condemnation by the Sanhedrin, they would still have to face the problem of presenting evidence to convince the Roman governor. And this must be of quite another character. The purpose was definite enough, but the way to make it effectual was by no means clear. It was not in this case 'the sight of means to do ill deeds' that made 'the ill deed done.'

The first move, the arrest of Jesus, seems to have been effected by a combination of the forces of the Temple and of the Roman garrison. Representations must have been made simultaneously to the chief Captain of the Temple and to the officer in charge of the contiguous Roman garrison of Antonia, to the effect that the now impending commemoration of the Passover would not pass without a rising of the people unless this leader of sedition were arrested beforehand. The Jewish rulers, of course, knew perfectly well that sedition had never been fostered by Jesus, though the country was full of it, but it suited their purpose to misrepresent matters to the Roman officer and to the Temple police. The large influx of people to the feasts had quite recently given rise to many riots, and the Roman garrison had been reinforced from Cæsarea with the express purpose of preserving the peace of the city during this Passover. It was for the garrison a

time of some anxiety and apprehension. Its Commander was hardly to blame for acting upon a possible suggestion from the Jewish rulers that a descendant of the Jewish royal house was about to effect a rising. Certain it is that some of His adherents and admirers wished Him to do so, and that was what the triumphal entry into Jerusalem, a few days before, was held to mean. There had been times when plots were made to take Him by force and proclaim Him King (John vi. 15). So it came to pass that on the eve of the preparation for the feast, by the light of the Passover moon, Jesus was arrested by a cohort of soldiers and by a mob of Temple officers carrying swords and staves, in the seclusion of the little garden of Gethsemane, on the lower slope of Olivet, where they found Him at prayer and carried Him off to the Temple precincts to await the dawn. It appears from His earlier visit there after midnight that this was one of the nights in which the Temple gates were opened after midnight, and so the whole area was brilliantly illuminated; and none were admitted into the side-entrance but those concerned in the trial.

Through what remained of the night some vivid scenes were witnessed in Solomon's Portico. The first of these shows Peter, now recovered from his first fear and flight, standing outside the Temple enclosure, at the Great Gate numbered 8, opening into the Court of the Gentiles. Here he is found by John, who had evidently gone out, now and again, to see if any of his brother apostles were there. Seeing Peter, he spoke to the doorkeeper, a trusty servant-maid placed there with orders to admit only those known to be friends or acquaintances of her master. She knew John, and

so allowed him to bring in Peter. John, alone of the evangelists, tells us this. He adds that as Peter passed in, the maid's suspicions were roused, and remembering her orders she said, 'Are you not a friend of the prisoner?' To this he gave a curt and instant denial. Some servants and officers had by this time lighted a charcoal fire in the chilly hours before the dawn, in what the A.V. of Luke xxii. 55 calls 'the midst of the hall.' Jesus had been conveyed into the High Priest's court of first instance, the door of which opened into the great Portico, opposite the place where the fire was burning on the floor, the night being a cold one (John xviii. 18). The arrest of so remarkable a man was naturally the topic of animated conversation. In the ruddy glow of the fire, maidservants of the High Priest mingled with the rest, maidservants whom the High Priest had brought with him to supply in some fashion the knowledge of who were and who were not of his party. Of the disciples who had followed Jesus from the garden, John had gone into the court of the High Priest, *i.e.* the lesser Sanhedrin Hall, by special permission, he being again among the number of those who were known to the doorkeeper. Peter, however, remained in the Portico, and presently was attracted to the group around the fire, not having John's privilege of admission to the hall. When seated with others on the floor of the Portico another maidservant at once began to ply Peter with questions as to whether he too was a disciple, and others of the group joined in the cross-examination. Peter, unmanned by anxiety and fatigue and little prepared to resist the banter of these people at such a moment, began to yield, to temporize, to take refuge in flight.

The Gospel of Mark, the one most intimate with events in Peter's life, distinguishes two cock-crowings where the others mention only one—the last. Thus it seems the admonition and reminder occurred during the process as well as at the end of the denial. Mark indicates that the first cock-crow was not the one heard by Peter as he stood or sat by the fire. Feeling uneasy under the questioning of so many hostile eyes, 'he went out into the porch.' This porch was a small, covered portico just within the gateway and standing upon pillars. Beneath it were the steps that led to the court of Annas. The lower half was free of these, and possibly it was in this little square of twelve feet that Peter stood, away from all his fellow-men, when there fell upon his ears the earlier of the two warnings. Just at that moment a cock-crow was heard from the quarter of the Temple where these birds were retained for sacrifice ; the signal of approaching day for others, but the admonition of something quite different in the ears of Peter, ' Verily I say unto thee, that to-day—this night—thou shalt before the cock crow twice, thrice deny Me.' It was while he stood aloof in the porch that ' another maid,' not the one who admitted him, saw him as she was passing towards the fire, and said to them that stood there, ' This man was also with Jesus.' A general cross-questioning now ensued of which we catch the echoes in Peter's repeated, ' Man, I am not,' ' Woman, I know Him not.' This was his second denial.

While engaged in this wordy warfare Peter would naturally, to brazen out the matter, re-enter the circle of people around the fire and, sitting down gloomily, would speak as little as possible in his treacherous

Galilean accent. An hour or so passed thus. By this time the examination of Jesus in the court of Annas was over. As the people by the fire waited for the opening of the Temple gates at sunrise, another wordy wrangle took place in the Portico cloister, provoked by the fact that the prisoner had been found guilty in the first trial. One man in particular asserted that he had seen Peter in the garden. He had reason to know that, for Peter had cut off his kinsman's ear with a drawn sword. The evidence was now so cumulative that Peter's only hope of escape from arrest seemed to him to lie in the use of such violent language as might convince his hearers. As he began to curse and to swear the cock crew once more. Peter was looking directly into the court where stood the Master he had denied. 'And the Lord turned and looked upon Peter.' Peter, heartbroken, went out and wept bitterly.

But what was going on in the High Priest's court meanwhile? The preliminary inquiry there was no doubt formal and was held to fill up the time till dawn. Annas, who presided, was not strictly a High Priest at all at this time. He had formerly held the office for eight or nine years, but had been deposed by the procurator in the year A.D. 15, and his son-in-law, Caiaphas, was now really the High Priest. But though Annas had lost his office he had not lost all his power, as the Jews deemed the anointing still effective, and in a trial so irregular throughout as was that of Jesus, one additional irregularity here hardly calls for notice. Moreover, as Annas was not really High Priest, so this court of his was not the official court of the Sanhedrin—the hall Gazith—but a minor chamber. Whatever was done in this minor court and by this ex-

High Priest must be regarded as done on behalf of Caiaphas and subject to revision by the Sanhedrin.

The night of the preliminary trial before Annas was the one before the slaying of the Passover lamb. The next night, that of the slaying, would find the Temple thronged with people. This night, however, the courts would be now deserted by all its late attendants except those who were concerned in the arrest and its sequel, and the maids and officers who were guarding the entrances. That a trial of any sort should proceed in the night-time was an irregular procedure. In fact, the whole story is so abnormal that it were idle to expect to make the several narratives agree with any legal precedent. What appears certain is that a meeting of the minor assembly of the Sanhedrin was held, with Annas presiding. If any regard was had to formal procedure there would be twenty-three members present at the inquiry. Annas, the president, was probably the usual president here, holding this office, by the ecclesiastical fiction that a man once a High Priest was always a High Priest. So we find repeatedly that, while Caiaphas presided over the supreme court of the Sanhedrin, Annas presided over the minor court. The function of this minor court in the present instance was analogous to the magistrate's inquiry in English criminal charges, an inquiry which may or may not lead to a trial before a judge at Assizes. This lesser Sanhedrin is the lower court, called 'the Council' in Matthew x. 17, Mark xiii. 9, and 'the Judgment' in Matthew v. 21-2. The Mishna says that there were two of these courts in Jerusalem (Sanhedrin xi. 2), thus supporting the history of the trial.

At this point it is necessary to correct an idea to

which the English Authorized Version of the Bible has given wide currency that it was to the residence of Annas that Jesus was taken. St. Luke certainly does say that 'they brought Him unto the High Priest's house.' It is not, in this passage, a question whether 'palace' or 'court' is the right translation, for here the word is undoubtedly 'house,' οἶκος. But as a matter of fact it is not possible that 'house' here should mean 'residence.' The word has no such restricted meaning in Greek any more than it has in English, and it is perfectly legitimate to interpret Luke's use of the word by reference to the parallel passages in the other Gospels. The 'house' was the High Priest's official court within the *Hieron*.

The initial difficulty in the court of Annas seems to have been the lack of evidence against the prisoner, a difficulty that must have been fatal in any trial worthy of the name. The verdict was already assured, and there can be no doubt that Annas was prepared to pronounce sentence also, if that had been in his power. The only things lacking were the power, the witnesses, and the evidence. 'The chief priests and the council sought witness against Jesus to put Him to death; and found it not. For many bare false witness against Him, and their witness agreed not together.' The one piece of evidence which could be relied upon at all to support the anticipated verdict was the saying of Jesus about destroying the *Naos* and building it again in three days. Here was certainly a suggestion of something subversive of the most sacred authority and constitution of the Jews at its central point. That Jesus had not spoken of the Temple at all but of His own body was ignored, or perhaps even not remembered

or understood. That Jesus had the divine right to speak thus of the Temple and all it stood for was precisely the thing that was denied, and hence the claim to that divine right was held to be blasphemy. So the Court made the most of that solitary piece of evidence.

Two or three witnesses were required by law for the conviction of a prisoner, and these were not to be had. The question being as to whether the Man now on his trial had said that He would destroy the Temple and build it again in three days, as reported by Matthew, or as other witnesses testified that He said He would 'build another Temple made without hands,' as reported by Mark (xiv. 58). Here is where a serious discrepancy occurred, and the witnesses could not be made to agree.

Technically the judgment arrived at was no judgment at all. The Sanhedrin had made rules for judicial procedure which entirely invalidated the proceedings before Annas. It had enacted that the judging of a false prophet could only be by the Sanhedrin itself, and, further, that no trial was to begin in the night. Both these regulations had been ignored in the test trial before Annas, but it was easy to correct matters by bringing Jesus before the Court of Caiaphas at sunrise. In the matter before it there was no desire for anything more than a formality in this Court or any other Jewish Court. The only aim was so to represent the matter to the Roman governor that no technicality of a previous hearing should hinder the confirmation of the capital sentence which was practically determined before any semblance of a trial took place.

As soon, therefore, as the Temple gates were thrown

open in the morning a hasty assembly of the full Sanhedrin took place, before Caiaphas, in the hall Gazith appropriated to its use. In the case of proceedings so confused and irregular it is not surprising to find some corresponding variation in the records. But it appears that the inquiry before Caiaphas was not a repetition of that before Annas. To supplement the case as reported by the Court of Annas an attempt was made to incriminate the prisoner by evidence from His own lips. 'I adjure Thee by the living God,' said the High Priest, 'that Thou tell us whether Thou be the Christ, the Son of God.' This was a mode of procuring evidence which appears to have had some sanction in Jewish law,¹ and so Jesus felt Himself under obligation to make some reply. Such reply could only be a truthful one. The reply that He made was held to be conclusive against Him. 'He hath spoken blasphemy: what further need have we of witnesses?' 'He is worthy of death,' said the Court forthwith by its vote. 'Then did they spit in His face and buffet Him: and some smote Him with the palms of their hands,' assailing Him the while with coarsely uttered sarcasm. So this travesty of a trial ended, and Jesus, still bound, was sent to Pilate for further trial. Probably this second inquiry was of the briefest, so that by the time Pilate was likely to be astir the Jews were quite ready to prosecute their prisoner before him. To gain the Roman confirmation for their verdict was now the one thing needful.

It is not improbable that the trial of Jesus was the last that took place within the precincts of the Temple. There is no mention of the Temple in connection with

¹ The indications of it are to be found in Leviticus v. 1, 1 Kings viii. 31, Proverbs xxix. 24, 1 Samuel xiv. 24-6.

the prosecution of Stephen a few years later, though Paul stood before it at the command of Rome (Acts xxiii. 1). Originally the Sanhedrin had the power to pronounce sentence of death absolutely, and the extreme penalty might take the form of stoning, burning, beheading, or strangling. Crucifixion was never a Jewish mode of execution, but was introduced by the Romans. On the curtailment by the Romans of Jewish civil power, the Sanhedrin felt so deeply the national humiliation that it declined to meet longer in its beautiful hall, and met henceforth in one of the rooms near the East Gate of the Temple, a room called *Hanoth*. The Rabbinic tractate *Shabbath* (f. 51) states that this transfer took place forty years before the destruction of the Temple, a date which coincides with the trial of Jesus. The difficulty which the Jews were about to find in obtaining the confirmation of Pilate for their sentence of Jesus may very naturally have served afterwards to give emphasis to their sense of the humiliation of their native Court. The Mishna, of the second century, referring to the hall *Gazith*, speaks of it as a place for judicial discrimination of the fitness of candidates for the priesthood (*Middoth* v. 4). This, of course, was not a matter which Rome desired to meddle with, and it may be that this and the like inquiries had come to be the principal use to which the hall was latterly applied.

We now return to the narrative. If, as we have assumed, the Roman garrison had been united with the Jews in the arrest on the previous evening, Pilate would be quite prepared to find that his judicial services were required in the morning. In fact, the day which that morning ushered in was annually the most

anxious for him in the whole year's administration of Judæa. It was the day which saw the culmination of that Feast of the Passover which always crowded Jerusalem to excess with excited Jews from all parts of the Empire, a day eminently liable to spontaneous outbursts of disrule in any case, but in this case liable to a revolt which might assume something of the proportions of a revolution. Pilate, then, and the garrison would no doubt be alert early that morning in the fortress of Antonia, hard by the northern boundary of the Temple grounds. The Jews had been alert all the night so as to get their empty but necessary preliminaries over by daybreak. Their greatest undertaking was now to begin. The trial was to be transferred from them to the Roman governor, from the Temple to the 'pretorium.' A quite new set of charges would have to be brought against their prisoner. It was all very well to talk in the Sanhedrin about designs upon the *Naos*, about blasphemous claims to Messiahship, and other charges of that ecclesiastical sort, but that line of prosecution would be utterly ineffectual before Pilate. Rome concerned itself about none of these things, as Gallio afterwards showed, and they knew that it was so. The thing now was to make charges which Pilate would listen to. So we read about vague accusations that Jesus stirred up the people against Rome, perverted the nation, forbade to give tribute to Cæsar, made Himself out to be Christ a King. In reality they had not the smallest fault to find with Jesus on any of these counts. Nay, further, it was precisely because He had done none of these things that the Jews hated Him. If He had used His influence with the people to inflame them against Rome

they would have looked more kindly upon Him as a patriot. But they knew quite well that He had repeatedly and emphatically declined to do anything of the kind, and had always maintained that His Kingdom was not of this world. If therefore it had been difficult to get witnesses in the native Court to support the ecclesiastical charges, it would, of course, be very much more difficult to procure evidence for these trumped-up civil charges before Pilate. Moreover, they must have foreseen that Pilate would be astute enough to see through the hollowness of the whole business. He was not the purblind official to be deceived by a parade of enthusiasm for the Empire on the part of Jewish leaders and people. Apparently the only hope of the Sanhedrin lay in the prospect that they might by some means or other convince Pilate of at least one thing, namely, that for the peace of the province it would be well to get rid of Jesus by whatever pretext might seem least foolish in his own eyes. That Jesus was an occasion of unrest in the province was beyond a doubt; Pilate, they hoped, would at all events recognize *that*; and the rest would follow. Of one outstanding historical fact neither he nor they could be ignorant or forgetful. It was that, some years before, the son of Herod the Great had been deposed and banished to Gaul, because he could not manage, as did his father, to govern the Jews without repeated appeals to Rome. Archelaus had been now for many years living at Vienne on the Rhone in poverty and obscurity—as afterwards did Herod, the Tetrarch, in the same state at Lyons; and Pilate had no wish to join them. Yet to Gaul he ultimately came, and in the same character as they.

CHAPTER X

JESUS BEFORE PILATE

WE find ourselves therefore, in the early hours of the morning after the arrest of Jesus, following Him into the Castle of Antonia to take His trial before Pilate, the Roman governor. The sight of the prisoner led away thus in bonds brings the remorse of the chief tool of the arrest to a crisis. Judas probably had calculated that he could earn his thirty pieces of silver without doing much harm to anybody. He did not imagine the Master would allow Himself to be arrested. Jesus had hitherto resisted or evaded attempts to arrest Him and would no doubt do so again. To his thinking the authorities would be duped as usual. But the past twelve hours have proved that it is he himself who is the dupe. He makes a desperate attempt now to undo what he has done. He is even willing to forfeit his fee. Rushing to the chief priests and elders he offers to return the silver. 'I have betrayed the innocent,' he passionately declares to them. They are no longer prepared to treat with him. He has served their purpose, and his present regrets are entirely his own affair—so they contemptuously inform him. Their cool and callous indifference is the last maddening blow to this unhappy man. He casts the money at them there in the

Temple, casts it from the *Hieron* with impetuous fury into the very *Naos* itself, and then goes out and hangs himself, leaving the authorities to decide for themselves what to do with the unhallowed money which they might gather up from the pavement beside the altar.

By this time Jesus is in the presence of Pilate. If the trial before the Sanhedrin had been the merest travesty of justice, the trial before Pilate was hardly so much as a travesty. Not even the semblance of justice was invoked this time. Pilate evidently did not regard himself as an administrator of justice in this instance at all. He could not do so, as he knew that the prosecution was prompted by envy alone. He was simply the officer responsible to the Empire for the peace of his province, and what he was aiming at was the nearest way to that goal, the line of least resistance. To keep these amazing Jews quiet was his one purpose. The one thing necessary was to ascertain how that might be done most readily.

His first embarrassment arose from the fact that these preposterous Jews would not come into the pretorium on that particular day for fear that some particle of leaven might lurk there and so they might be ceremonially disqualified for participation in the impending national festival. He therefore goes out to them in the barrack enclosure or yard. What accusation, he asks them, did they bring against their culprit? Simply that He was a bad and a seditious man, said they; was it not a sufficient accusation that they had brought him to Pilate? Well, if He's a bad man, why don't you deal with Him yourselves according to your own law; why do you want the Roman power to intervene? Just because we cannot

ourselves put Him to death, replied the ingenuous Jews. Ah, then, that was the situation, thought Pilate; they want the Man to be crucified; I have at least discovered so much. The case was evidently growing serious in spite of the fact that Pilate knew that envy was at the bottom of it, and that it was a trumped-up charge, made by priests jealous for their own caste and system.

Thereupon he goes back to his culprit inside. He will see what he can make out concerning the Man Himself. 'So you regard Yourself as the King of the Jews, do you?' Jesus answered, 'Sayest thou this of thyself, or did others tell it thee concerning Me?' Evidently the Man is going to examine him, not he the Man. 'Myself? Am I a Jew, that you should imagine me to have any thought about such things? Of course it is Thine own people that have told me so. Now what hast Thou to say about it?' Admitting the charge—this is 'the good confession' of 1 Timothy vi. 13—Jesus began to tell Pilate what His Kingdom really was. The soil was not receptive for the seeds of the Kingdom of Heaven to lodge in, but the words made an impression. Pilate goes back to the Jews in the courtyard and assures them that he finds no fault in the Man. The Man is reticent and self-possessed, has apparently no sort of political aims, and is quite harmless. But no impression on the crowd is made by this report.

Then a new idea occurs to Pilate. There is an old custom by which a prisoner was released on this particular day as an act of imperial clemency. He will therefore release Jesus to them. Will not that be the best way to settle the matter? Apparently not.

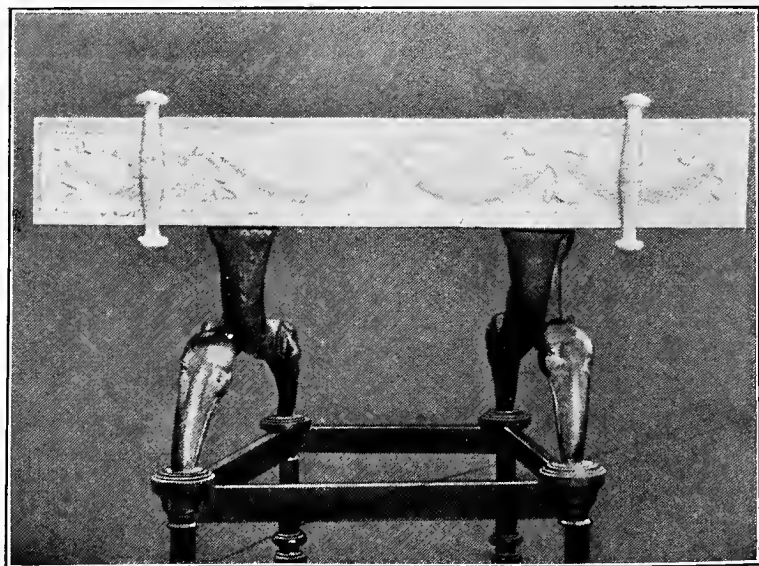
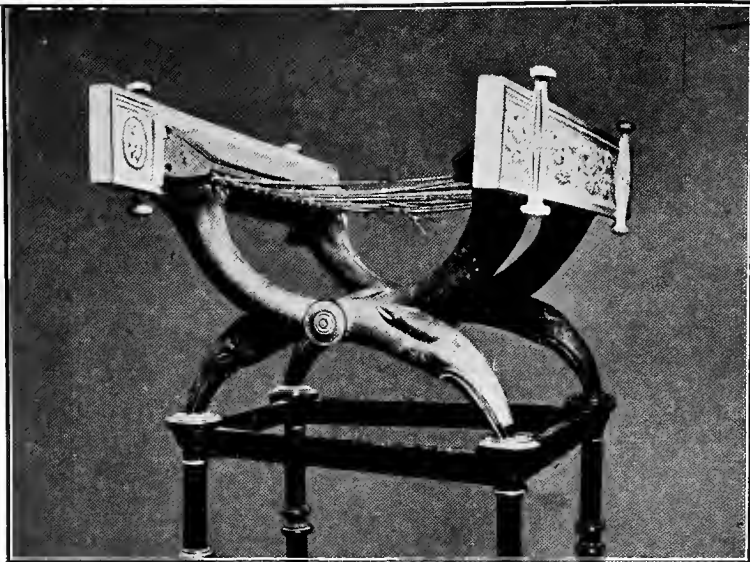
The line of least resistance does not lie in that direction. The Jews have their own line to take in that business and are definitely decided what it is to be. They want not this man, but Barabbas, an outlaw and murderer at present in Pilate's hands. 'Well, then, what am I to do with this King of the Jews?' The Jews have a policy ready if Pilate himself has none. 'Crucify Him!' said they. Pilate does not yet see his way to do that. But at all events they shall have Barabbas. Anything, in reason, to conciliate them. But what to do with Jesus? That was still the problem. It occurs to him now that the Man is said to be a Galilean. Herod Antipas, the Jewish King of the Galilean province, happens to be in Jerusalem for the Passover. He will send the Man to Herod to deal with. Herod will at least be pleased with this civility, for there has not been much civility between the two men, and he may even do something that will put an end to the matter. So Jesus is sent off to Herod, the Jews following. Herod is delighted, for more reasons than one, but he can offer no solution. Or, rather, his solution is that Pilate must deal with the matter. In a little time Pilate has Jesus again on his hands, arrayed this time in robes of mock gorgeousness and with other marks upon Him of the insolent violence of Herod's soldiers.

The matter is growing more serious. The morning is wearing away. There are other matters to attend to, and this matter is no nearer settlement than it was at daybreak. Perhaps it will satisfy these Jews if he follows Herod's lead and allows his own soldiers to scourge the Man. The soldiers are nothing loth. They conceive the witticism of adding a mock crown to the

Man's other mock regal vestments—a crown of thorn twigs. Thus bedecked and scourged Pilate presents Jesus to the Jews in the courtyard. 'Just look at Him!' said Pilate, knowing the value of a little pleasantry when things are at high tension. But he found the Jews in no mood for trivial witticisms of that sort. They were bent on crucifixion and nothing less. There is no turning these dogged people from their purpose. He takes Jesus back into the pretorium. He even tries to get some hint or direction out of the prisoner Himself, and is amazed to find some mysterious and majestic power inherent in Him which at the same time irritates and baffles him. Of one thing he is certain, and that is that it would be a mistake to crucify this man. He holds further parley with the Jews. But these begin to throw out ugly suggestions. Their impatience is making them dangerous. 'If thou release this Man, thou art not Cæsar's friend: every-one that maketh himself a King opposeth Cæsar.' 'We have no King but Cæsar.' With the fate of Archelaus in his mind, that settled the matter. The cry was absurdly insincere and palpably false to their real thoughts about the Empire, but it was not the sort of situation to be reported in Rome by any chance. It looked as if he must defend his own position by sacrificing this Man after all. He saw that he prevailed nothing, but rather that a tumult was arising. Tumult was the very thing that he wished to avoid at all costs. All he could now do was literally and publicly to wash his hands of all responsibility for the blood of this righteous Man, and let matters take their course. 'His blood be on us and on our children' was the grim and terrible response of the Jews.

By this time the noon is nearing. Dark clouds have begun to gather which portend a storm, as if Nature herself were moved by indignation at the morning's work. To avoid Rome's complicity in this judicial murder, Pilate orders his magisterial chair to be brought out and placed upon the Pavement—Gabbatha—at the south of the Temple enclosure. Thither he himself goes with the prisoner, the multitude following. There, under the gathering clouds, in the open air, he makes one last appeal to the people for reason, and is answered once more by the ominous cry about loyalty to Cæsar. There is, then, no hope. The line of least resistance is almost as terrible as the other possible line. But the alternative is for him a compromised position with Rome. Sentence of death is passed upon Jesus there and then, and, handed over to the soldiers, He is led away to be crucified. One last small victory Pilate determines to compass. He will write upon the cross the words 'The King of the Jews,' and will not allow any modifying 'He said' to be added to the superscription. If Pilate had lived three centuries later it would not have been he who would have resented the still larger homage which Constantine offered to Jesus as King of the Roman State itself.

By three o'clock all was over. Since the sentence was pronounced the storm had gathered over Jerusalem with increasing terror of darkness. An earthquake shook the very rocks beneath the Temple and threw open the tombs. When the visitation at last was ended it was found that the veil in the sanctuary of the Temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom. The sacredness of that inner shrine of God's presence was for ever departed. Henceforth the



ROMAN TRIBUNAL OR SEAT OF JUSTICE
(ON STAND)

A chair similar to this is pictured on the wall of a Roman magistrate's tomb at Pompeii

sanctuary was to be that crucified body of the Son of God which in three days was to be raised up again.

One matter remains to be emphasized. The death of Jesus was the work of the Jews themselves and not of the Romans. No Roman of authority had a hand in it but Pilate alone ; and he was but the tool in the hands of the clerical party. No Jew of the day would have wished to deny this. They would willingly have stoned Jesus without reference to Pilate at all if it had been in their power to do so. Moreover, Pilate had indicated as much in his whole procedure, as we have seen. His removal of the curule chair from the Roman garrison to the Jewish Gabbatha when sentence was to be pronounced was itself the visible and significant confirmation of the fact that the sentence was virtually the act of Judæa and not of Rome.

An interesting, if subsidiary, by-way of history is opened up by the mention of the Roman governor's *βήμα*, or judgment-seat. Amid the ruins of Pompeii one of these curule chairs has been brought to light and a photograph of it is given here. Its arms were of ivory, each one being cut whole from an elephant's tusk. Time, however, had so damaged the ivory of this one that it has been removed, and other supports, of similar form, have taken their place. The elephant, the most powerful of beasts, aptly symbolized the power of the Empire. The ivory as material may be compared with Solomon's 'great throne of ivory' (1 Kings x. 18). Such a chair as this was the essential token of the authority of a Roman provincial governor or judge. Sometimes the statue of the contemporary Emperor was placed upon it. In Rome itself it was the seat of the prætor when administering justice,

Wherever the curule chair was placed there was a court of justice. No need of heralds or trumpeters, no requirement of elaborate and costly basilicas. This simple arrangement was peculiarly adapted to Eastern customs and traditions, where justice had always been administered in the open air, at the city gates, in presence of the passers-by. So the Roman governors often held their Courts in theatres and gymnasia, and sometimes by the roadside. Josephus gives several instances of this kind, two at least of them connected with this same Pilate. Of Philip, Tetrarch of the region beyond Jordan, Josephus says: 'He used to make his progress with a few chosen friends; his tribunal also, on which he sat in judgment, followed him in his progress; and when anyone met him who wanted his assistance, he made no delay, but had his tribunal set down immediately, wheresoever he happened to be, and sat down upon it, and heard his complaint' (*Ant.* xviii. 4 § 6).

In confirmation of these references it is most interesting to observe that the Pompeii chair (now in the museum in Naples) was made to fold up for convenience of carriage. It was no doubt just such a chair that was carried from the garrison to the Gabbatha at the condemnation of Jesus.

We have no record of the procedure at the Passover which ensued, and are left to conjecture how much or how little it may have been affected by the events of the previous night and morning. Presumably little rather than much. The Crucifixion was for the Jews merely the purifying of the city and the getting rid of a troublesome character. Their old religious observance would go on all the better without Him, they

thought. They little knew that the event of that day had superseded their festival for the rest of time, nor that 'Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us' was about to become the watchword of a better faith.

On a point of time there is, however, an interesting coincidence. Matthew tells us—and he is uncontradicted—that 'about the ninth hour' the end came for the sacred Sufferer. And Josephus tells us that the Passover lambs were slain 'from the ninth hour till the eleventh' (*War* vi. 9 § 3). It was as the hour of 3 p.m. struck, or was about to strike, on the great gong of the Temple, that the Jewish authorities went to Pilate and asked that the deaths of the convicted ones should be hastened, as time was passing, and until their bodies had ceased to defile the air of the city it was impossible for them to slay so much as a single lamb. O Religion, what crimes have been committed in thy name !

CHAPTER XI

THE TEMPLE IN APOSTOLIC TIMES

WE do not again find the apostles in the Temple till some weeks after the Crucifixion. When they do reappear they are 'continually there.' Something has happened to give them a new outlook and a new hope. The *Naos*, or Sanctuary, of which their Master had spoken, had been raised again the third day, and though now invisible, had given to them an assurance of the real presence of Jesus with them still. Something else is about to happen for the confirmation of their faith and for the amazement of the city.

Seven weeks after the fatal Passover, and ten days after the Ascension, the Feast of Pentecost came to be observed, and with it a multitude of devout men 'from every nation under heaven.' On that day the disciples were all together in one place. There may have been as many as a hundred and twenty of them, so little has the Crucifixion weakened or dispersed them. The only place which lends itself to the conditions of the narrative was Solomon's Portico. Where else would they be so likely to meet? There was an upper room—possibly in the house of Barnabas—where the apostles were 'abiding,' *i.e.* eating and sleeping, and where some others joined them. But what upper room in Jerusalem, large enough for the story, was open to

a band of despised and discredited people with no property? Why, indeed, should they desire one when a Portico capable of holding thousands was free to them as it was to anybody else? It was a place abhorred by loyal Jews, though compelled to cross its floor on entering the Beautiful Gate. All the more reason, therefore, to assume that Christians would be left there unmolested among the sheep and goats and the Gentile 'dogs.' For Christians it was quite enough of consecration that Jesus had walked and taught in that very court. When divine energy and presence should return to them, according to the promise 'ye shall receive power,' what better place for missionary preaching than there, among the throng of people? During these ten days of expectation Luke closes his Gospel by telling us they were continually in the Temple, praising and blessing God.

They had not long to wait. 'A sound as of the rushing of a mighty wind' drew the multitude together in the direction of the disciples, and discovered them speaking with tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance. Amazed and perplexed, the people ask one another, 'What meaneth this?' 'Are not all these which speak Galileans?' 'Are they not followers of that crucified Galilean of seven weeks ago? In any case, are they not unlettered provincials?' The only answer was the mocking one—which serves to cover the utter lack of a better—'These men are filled with new wine.' At nine o'clock in the morning this was not likely to be true literally; but in another sense it was truer than the mockers knew.

It soon became apparent in Jerusalem that the Galilean had not been done with on the Crucifixion day.

Here were His disciples preaching Jesus as the Christ of prophecy and denouncing the lawless men who had crucified Him. More wonderful still, here were men by thousands willing to accept that view of the tragedy. The tide has turned again, as such popular movements are apt to do. Two phrases describe it : ' Fear came upon every soul ' and ' the believers had favour with all the people.' It was one of the golden moments of the new faith.

When the festival had passed and the crowds left Jerusalem, the disciples resumed the methods of their Master as to daily teaching in the Temple. They seem, however, to have departed from His usage in one detail of it. They no longer taught throughout the *Hieron*, but only in the Portico. The Women's Court or Treasury appears no longer to have been used by them. We are not wholly in the dark as to possible reasons for this. The Essenes had been driven from it, and already during the lifetime of Jesus the Jews had agreed that any man confessing Him to be Christ should be excluded from religious fellowship. This would be enough to debar the apostles from the inner courts. It was now morally impossible for Christians to offer sacrifice or to participate in sacrificial feasts. In a word, they had ceased to be orthodox Jews and would be treated as Gentiles. Possibly they found an advantage in this exclusion, for while both Jews and Gentiles were to be encountered and taught in the Portico, Gentiles could not have been met with in the Treasury.

Two or three vivid incidents belong to this period. One day Peter and John were entering in at the principal eastern gate and were accosted there by a

familiar lame beggar, whom they heal of his life-long disease. This wonder serves to attract the people to some fervid preaching by Peter for that day. So much so that our old acquaintances, Annas and Caiaphas, and the Captain of the Temple, seem to be apprehensive that the evil work of the last Passover may have to be done over again.

At a later time a scheme of communal distribution of property among the believers is connected with the tragic death of two untruthful defaulters. It is probable that the double tragedy of Ananias and Sapphira happened on the very floor of the Gentile Portico. Till now 'they were all with one accord in Solomon's Portico,' with the result that outsiders left them to their own methods of worship. This is stated in the words, 'of the rest durst no man join himself to them, but the people magnified them,' as well they might do when God had given such power to the apostolic rebuke and sentence.

These are examples of the movement which was the real history of the Temple in those times, little as they may have been so regarded at the moment.

But the new life now begins to look further afield than the Temple court. Begun there, in the Court of the Gentiles, it begins to follow the track of the Gentiles. Persecution and dispersion accelerate the wider mission, especially the martyrdom of Stephen, a man full of the missionary spirit. Henceforth it will be only incidentally that we shall meet with Christianity in our story of the Temple. 'The Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands,' Stephen had said. The leader of Christianity for the coming generation was to be a man whose association with

Christianity owed nothing whatever to Jesus' teaching in the Temple courts, nor indeed to any natural association with Jesus on earth. This was Saul of Tarsus, once a member of the Sanhedrin Court, as he afterwards regretfully admitted when he said that he had voted there in favour of the capital punishment of Christians.¹

The most memorable event in Paul's life of singular variety and exaltation came to him as he was praying in the Temple. It was an experience akin to that of Isaiah's vision there, when his lips were touched as with a live coal from off the altar. Paul's call to the apostolate did not come at his conversion, but in the trance into which he fell while praying in the Temple. He there saw Jesus, and from His lips received his commission as an apostle (Acts xxii. 17 f.). Fourteen years after its occurrence he gave a fuller account of this vision to the Corinthian Christians (2 Cor. xii. 1 f.).

About this time (it would be in the year 38 or 39) a notable event of another kind is recorded. A certain busybody from Alexandria had advised himself to report to Caius Cæsar, better known by his nickname of Caligula, that the Jews, alone among his subjects, thought it a dishonourable thing to erect statues in his honour; whereupon the Emperor became very angry, sent a body of troops to Jerusalem, and gave their commander instructions that if the Jews would admit of his statue willingly they were to erect it in the Temple, but if they were obstinate he was to conquer them by war and then to do it. Ten thousand Jews went down to Ptolemais to meet this commander, Petronius, and set their view of the matter before him,

¹ Acts xxvi. 10.

representing to him that he will only be able to transgress and violate the law of their fathers by first passing over their own dead bodies. They would not make war against Cæsar, but they would throw themselves down upon their faces and stretch out their throats as men ready to be slain ; and this protest they made for forty days together, the tillage of their ground being neglected meanwhile. Touched by the force of these representations Petronius magnanimously made common cause with the Jews. Both he and Agrippa, now resident in Rome, made representations to Caligula, who appears to have vacillated thereupon. Ultimately Caligula's death relieved the situation, and the statue was not erected.

In the recurrent collisions between Jerusalem and Rome the Jews did not always escape so fortunately. The Passover celebrations especially were an occasion of peril. The element of discord was obvious enough. What was for the Jews a time of peculiarly sacred association was for the Romans a time of greatly increased apprehension of tumult and disorder in the city. The Jews were naturally irritated at the obvious military alertness which pervaded their religious assembly, and the Romans, on the other hand, were perhaps too eagerly suspicious of occasions for unrest. It was as if a hostile military force were told off to attend a Church Congress at an English cathedral. One such collision arose soon after the appointment of Cumanus to be procurator in the year 49. Cumanus ordered that a regiment of the army should take their arms and stand in the Portico facing the Temple during the Passover celebration. One of the heathen soldiers was seen to perpetrate an act of gross indecency within

the cloister. It is very true that the Jews were not keenly scrupulous of defilement of this Gentile court, but this was naturally more than even they could tolerate. It may have been that the soldier was merely a brutal animal who did not intend to offend anybody. The Jews, however, cried out that this impious action was done to reproach Jehovah Himself; nay, some of them alleged that the soldier was instigated to his act by Cumanus, a suspicion which was of course absurd. So furious were the Jews that Cumanus augmented the armed forces in Antonia. Seeing this, the Jews fled in panic from the Temple, and a great number (Josephus says twenty thousand) were crushed to death in the narrow underground passages leading from the Temple to the city.¹

The next affront to the Temple did not come from the Romans. A friendly potentate, the King Agrippa of Nero's time and of Acts xxv., was allowed to add to the lofty tower of the palace at Antonia a large dining-room which commanded a most delightful prospect. When the Jews found that in this room Agrippa could lie down and eat and thence observe what was done in the Temple, they resorted to the modern device of raising a high wall to block the view. The wall accomplished its purpose and something more, for it intercepted a view which Festus, the then procurator, deemed necessary for governmental purposes. Festus ordered the wall to be pulled down, but the Jews argued that it was a part of their own Temple, built upon their own ground, and appealed to Nero. The appeal was successful and the wall was allowed to stand. *Cherchez la femme* is a motto which sometimes explains an

¹ For these passages and their steps and gates see chapter xxi. p. 257.

extraordinary occurrence. Poppea, the wife of Nero, was a religious woman and a Jewess. This wall must have been almost if not quite the last portion of the Temple to be built.

It must have been slightly before this time—in the year 58—that St. Paul had an extraordinary experience during a visit to Jerusalem. For twelve or fourteen days he seems to have been the chief character in an amazing comedy of errors which came near to being a tragedy. We will recount the several acts of the drama as they are recorded by the historian Luke. St. Paul had been spending the twenty years since his conversion in preaching Christianity throughout Asia Minor to both Jews and Gentiles, but with special success among Gentiles. The Christian leaders in Jerusalem had never been quite enthusiastic about this mission to the Gentiles, and in any case they distinctly disapproved of allowing a marked severance of Christianity from the Jewish faith. Judging solely from their own experience, they regarded Christianity as an outgrowth from the old Jewish stock, and were very jealous that this view of the matter should be definitely recognized. Now it was well known that St. Paul had taught in such fashion that his words might be legitimately interpreted as the emancipation of Christianity from Jewish leading-strings. The return of the apostle to Jerusalem was therefore regarded with some anxiety by the elders of the Christian Church there, as well as by himself. See his request to the Roman Christians for their prayers that his service of gifts for them in Jerusalem may be accepted of the saints (Rom. xv. 30 f.).

On his arrival St. Paul at once rehearsed to the

elders the things which God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry. They, when they heard it, glorified God and pocketed the missionary contributions of the converts. Having done that, they proceeded at once to discuss the vexed question of his orthodoxy and to propose a grotesque expedient. It was necessary, they argued, that Paul should exhibit his loyalty to Judaism by some significant act. They happened to have on hand just at that moment four men who were about to fulfil some Nazirite vow characteristic of the Jewish faith. Why should not Paul show himself a good Jew by joining himself to this group and for twenty-four hours sharing their vow? To the great satisfaction of the Jerusalem elders, Paul, always all things to all men in matters of secondary importance, undertook to do this, and the next day he attended in the Temple court with the other four men for this purpose. What led him to do a thing so alien to his own instincts he himself explains in a letter to the Corinthians. 'Though I was free from all men, I brought myself under bondage to all, that I might gain the more. To the Jews I became as a Jew that I might gain Jews.' If the policy seems to us moderns of the West to be a mistaken compromise, we may, at all events, admire Paul's subordination of all his personal predispositions to the one purpose of his life.

During the seven days devoted to this curious piece of ancient ritual, the spectacle seems to have attracted the attention of certain non-Christian Jews from Proconsular Asia, who were not in the secret, and who found it increasingly difficult to guess what it all meant. They knew what Paul's teaching had been at

Ephesus and during his missionary travels. They were scarcely exaggerating it when they declared that this was the man that taught all men everywhere against the people and the law and the Temple. What, then, was he doing in the court of the Nazirites, and who were these men who were ostensibly fulfilling with him a Nazirite vow? Slowly the conviction gained upon these Asiatic Jews that the whole thing was an imposture and that the men were not Jews at all. For confirmation of this conviction they had seen Paul in the city in company with an undoubted Gentile from Ephesus, whom they were able to name. They had no doubt this Ephesian was one of the four men masquerading as Jews. Who the other three might be they knew not. To have brought even one Gentile across the *Soreg* which divided the Portico from the rest of the Temple was an enormity punishable by nothing less than the death of the culprit. A shout was uttered, Paul being in the Temple, 'Men of Israel, help!' The cry of profanation was raised, all the city was moved, and the people ran together. They laid hold on Paul and dragged him out of the Temple and shut its doors upon him. Evidently they were prepared to repeat the martyrdom of Stephen, but they were in no mind to have the Temple needlessly defiled with a dead body. By this time the garrison is astir, and soldiers arrive upon the scene just in time to rescue the culprit from summary vengeance. The uproar was such that the military officer could make nothing of their conflicting cries. So Paul is carried off to Antonia, followed by a mob so eager that he is lifted off his feet by the pressure in the narrow stairway of the castle. The ominous cry, 'Away with him!' must have reminded some then

present of a similar cry in the case of Jesus a quarter of a century before.

At the entrance to the castle, where at last the oncoming of the mob was checked, Paul attempted to explain to the officer the gross mistake which had led to all this uproar. He speaks in the popular Greek dialect which was then the common speech of the Empire. At the sound of the Greek speech a still further grotesque mistake comes to light. 'Dost thou know Greek?' said the officer; 'art thou not then the Egyptian leader of four thousand assassins?' Paul knew what it was to become all things to all men. He had, wisely or unwisely, undertaken to appear in the character of a Jewish devotee, but even he could hardly have foreseen that he would be thought to fill the part of the fanatic leader of the 'men of the dagger,' whose lawlessness had recently been a terror to the neighbourhood. After hurried explanations the prisoner is allowed to speak to the people, as he stood there upon the stairs, silence having at last been secured. The sound of their native Aramaic Hebrew dialect seems to have pacified the Jewish rabble for the moment. They listen to him while he tells the real story of his life down to the beginning of the mission to the Gentiles. The very word 'Gentiles' was sufficient to arouse the uproar afresh, and the officer withdrew his prisoner into the castle. There the Tribune has a last astonishment. He learns that this amazing man is actually a freeborn Roman citizen. In the end, therefore, Paul was sent to Rome to take his trial.

While waiting at Rome during two tedious years for his trial to come on, Paul wrote some letters which are still extant. One of them was to be read by those very

Christians in Ephesus of whom Trophimus was one, the man whose presence with him in the streets of Jerusalem had been the occasion of all the trouble. No wonder, then, that in telling them that in Christ there is no distinction of Jew and Gentile, he makes reference to that fatal 'middle wall of partition' in the Temple, the crossing of which was forbidden on pain of death to every Gentile. 'Christ has broken that wall down,' he writes; 'Christ has ended in His own person the hostility which it symbolizes, He has abrogated the legal code of separating ordinances.' Whether this incriminating letter was used against him at the trial we do not know. It is touching to read that of all the Asiatic witnesses for the trial, no one remained to take the apostle's part, but all forsook him. Even Trophimus was left at Miletum sick, and with the cardinal witness absent the case was likely to go against the prisoner.

The position of this *Soreg* (or μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ to use Paul's description of it) is conspicuous in the Plan which accompanies this volume, and its structure will be described in detail in the second part of the present treatise. Josephus mentions it in his description of the Temple (*War* v. 5 § 2) thus: 'When you go through these first cloisters unto the Second Court of the Temple, there was a partition (δευφάκτος) made of stone all round, whose height was three cubits, and its construction very elegant; upon it stood pillars, at equal distances from one another, declaring the law of purity, some in Greek and some in Roman letters, that "no foreigner should go within that sanctuary."' A later reference (*War* vi. 2 § 4) indicates that the Romans had given their sanction to this

prohibition; 'Have you not,' said Titus, 'put up this partition wall before your sanctuary? Have we not given you leave to kill such as go beyond it, even though he were a Roman?' This may refer to some special and earlier decree; for, as we have already had occasion to notice, the Sanhedrin could not inflict ordinary capital punishment without the confirmation of Rome in each case, though it is possible that summary vengeance on those who profaned the Temple was legally sanctioned.

The story of recent excavations into historical sites is a fascinating study. We have already been indebted, in this series of monographs, to discoveries in Babylonia. More recently the dry soil of Egypt has given up some of its treasures—papyri and tablets,—which have proved that the Greek of the New Testament was actually the commonest of all dialects throughout the Roman Empire. It is distressing to learn that want of funds is likely to hinder further research within the now very limited time in which the great engineering works on the Nile will have rendered the soil so humid that the still buried papyri must needs perish and be lost for ever. The same lack of income embarrasses the Palestine Exploration Fund. But the work already done by that Fund is of the utmost importance and value. It has seldom fallen to the lot of the excavator to make such a thrilling discovery as was made by M. Clermont Ganneau in Jerusalem in May, 1871. The story is told, in one of the publications of the Fund, thus: 'There lies close to the Via Dolorosa, and not far from the north-west angle of the Haram (it is on the left-hand side of the Via Dolorosa, opposite the *Bab el Aksa*), a small

Moslem cemetery. Here is a gateway. While examining the walls, step by step, M. Ganneau observed two or three Greek characters on a block forming the angle of the wall on which was built a small arch. The characters were close to the surface of the ground. M. Ganneau proceeded to scrape away the soil in hopes of finding them continued. More characters appeared, and when the stone was finally cleared, the discoverer had the gratification of reading an inscription in Greek, in seven lines. The characters are monumental in size and present the appearance which one would expect in an inscription of the period. The translation is :—

‘ NO STRANGER IS TO ENTER WITHIN THE BALUSTRADE ROUND THE TEMPLE AND ENCLOSURE. WHOEVER IS CAUGHT WILL BE RESPONSIBLE TO HIMSELF FOR HIS DEATH, WHICH WILL ENSUE.’

The word translated ‘ balustrade ’ is Josephus’ word *δεύφακτος*, with a slight variation in the spelling. There cannot be the smallest doubt that this stone is one of those which formed the boundary in Herod’s Temple beyond which no Gentile was allowed to penetrate. It must have been looked upon by Jesus and His disciples many times ; Trophimus the Ephesian probably knew it well ; and the thought of it and its companions (still waiting discovery) made a deep impression upon the mind and the teaching of St. Paul, besides being the occasion of a grave crisis, with lasting consequences in his life.

Another actor in this drama of apostolic times was to disappear earlier than St. Paul. In A.D. 62 James, the leader of the Church at Jerusalem and the

instigator of an attitude of compromise—not equality—towards the Gentile converts, was stoned to death by the Sadducean High Priest (the younger Ananus), and the Sanhedrin, during the interval when one procurator (Festus) was dead and his successor (Albinus) was but upon the road to arrive. This was James the Lord's brother and writer of the epistle which bears that name. Another James, brother of John the Evangelist, was beheaded by Herod Agrippa I, who was a strict observer of the law, and whose reign, as King of the Jews, was limited to A.D. 41-4.

CHAPTER XII

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

WE now arrive at the long-delayed completion of the Temple buildings. During more than eighty years the process of building had gone slowly on, with periods of absolute inactivity interspersed, and with at least one period, the stormy reign of Archelaus, in which there had been destruction instead of construction. The period of the completion was hardly less stormy. The Sicarii, the bandits and assassins of whom St. Paul for one brief moment had been supposed to be the leader, were at the height of their career of mischief, and were responsible for that state of sensitive apprehension which had become evident in those who were responsible for maintaining law and order in Jerusalem. Add to this that some servants of the High Priest had joined themselves to the boldest of the people and had taken away by violence the tithes of corn and fruit that belonged to the priests, beating such as would not comply with their violence at the very threshing-floors, in such fashion that there were priests who died for want of food. The country was filled with robbers, Josephus says.

Of any solemn dedication of the completed Temple we have no record nor so much as any hint whatever.

The New Testament historians were by this time concerned with quite other matters. The focus of their activity and interest was no longer the Temple at Jerusalem, but the great missionary enterprise which was actuated from Antioch and looked for nothing from Jerusalem but a very grudging acquiescence, if not covert hostility. The selection of James, the brother of our Lord, as the first head of the Christian College in Jerusalem was an official act of profound meaning and large consequence. He was not a Christian during the ministry on earth of Jesus, and his epistle has no reference to the person or work of the Holy Spirit. It was 'certain who came from James' who led the quarrel at Antioch between Peter and Paul (Gal. ii. 12).

The priestly and conservative party in the Church at Jerusalem first contended that no man could be a Christian who did not enter the Church through the door of Judaism, as they themselves had done. Beaten out of this position by the work and writings of Paul, they then, and for long, maintained that the inner sanctum of the Christian faith could be entered only by Jews or Jewish proselytes, in which attitude of mind we see the influence of the Temple architecture.

While the early Church was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with this subtle and, to Gentile converts, degrading heresy, the New Testament writers have nothing to tell us about the completion of the Temple. Josephus, strangely enough, only mentions it incidentally. He has been telling us about so minor a matter as the granting by the Sanhedrin of permission to certain Levites to wear priestly garments of linen hitherto worn only by priests, and he points out that

this was contrary to the ancient laws. The next thing he notes is that above eighteen thousand workmen were out of employ in Jerusalem, and it occurs to him that this fact was to be accounted for in that 'now it was that the Temple was finished.' This would be in A.D. 64-5. Surely no great enterprise in the history of man ever had so tame a record of its completion. Christian writers were no longer interested in the building, and as for Josephus, he seems to have been oppressed by a sense of the futility of the whole affair of a Temple which in five years from its completion was to disappear from the face of the earth. Josephus was writing when not one stone of the building was left upon another. It is perhaps not to be wondered at that he ignores a consummation which was but the prelude to a fall.

But what was to be done with the eighteen thousand unemployed? The question has a very modern ring about it, and the solution of it was equally in harmony with modern expedients. Some public works must be set afoot. Why not demolish and rebuild the ancient eastern wall which, from the Kidron valley below, supported the cloisters of the Temple enclosure, and which was said to be as old as Solomon?¹ The

¹ The Golden Gate—so named from the 'much thicker plates of gold' with which its gates were covered in the time of which Josephus writes—stands at 1050 feet from the south-east angle of the Haram area. The retaining wall to the north of this gate consists of masonry differing from that to the south. Its finish is rougher and the stone of inferior quality. This change in the character of the masonry takes place at the point 1090 feet from the south-east angle, and just where the prolongation of the scarp cuts the east wall. The stones above this have rustic bosses with great projections and differ from those to their south.

As there is to this day no record of the fall of the wall, as feared by Herod's workmen, it is probable that what they meant was that the northern portion of the wall might fall if it were not rebuilt so as to be in harmony with the rest of the east wall. Men in search of a job are not usually over accurate in their estimates of what may happen.

King, Agrippa, was shrewd enough to recognize that it was easy to demolish, but not easy to build ; and especially so when not the building but the wages would be the only stimulus to the work. So he denied the petitioners their request ; but he did not obstruct them when they desired that the streets of the city might be paved with white stone. Josephus is imaginative enough at times, but he does not allow himself to remark that those white pavements were soon to take on a ruddier hue.

It was not only the Temple, but also the nation that was drawing near to its fall. After the mad attempt of Caligula, in the year 39, to force his statue into the Temple, the Jews had become more and more apprehensive for the safety of their ancient faith. Among them were a body of Zealots who, with perhaps some remembrance of the Maccabean revolt against Antiochus Epiphanes, and with certainly no adequate appreciation of the very different conditions prevailing in their own time, found their opportunity to inflame the people against Rome and against those Jews, the Pharisees particularly, who were more zealous for the faith itself than for its protection against Roman Emperors. During the reign of Claudius (41-54) certain concessions had been made to the Temple authorities, concessions which Claudius evidently hoped might allay the unrest of the people. But the insurrectionary spirit had grown rather than abated during this reign. The people in Jerusalem found themselves more in sympathy with the anti-Herodian Zealots than with the Pharisees. It was an uprising against not only Rome, but against also the Jewish authorities, who seemed to them to be in no hurry to

shake off the Roman dominion. Of course the local authorities were very well aware of the futility of any possible attempt to do so, but history has proved over and over again that counsels of moderation and of submission to the inevitable have very little force for the regulation of an oppressed or infuriated people. The Zealots soon had things going their own way ; and they were joined by the Sicarii, who, under the leadership of that Egyptian Jew who was not St. Paul, had one day collected a multitude of the common people to watch from the Mount of Olives the fall of the walls of Jerusalem at his command. In this state of affairs further concessions from Rome were, of course, hopeless. Instead, the garrison of the fortress Antonia had been reinforced, and the military captain there was in the state of alert apprehension of disorder which he discovered in his surmise about St. Paul already recorded. In A.D. 54 Nero had come to be Emperor, and in 60 Festus was appointed procurator, to be succeeded by Albinus in 62 ; but no change in the attitude of the people had come with change of rulers. So that by the time the Temple restoration was completed Jerusalem was in a ferment of insurrection against Rome, and the country round was the scene of robbery and murder. It was certainly a wise policy to have found those eighteen thousand unemployed workmen something to do. Better to pave Jerusalem with white stones or Carrara marble than to have these men added to the forces of the Zealots.

Josephus says there was no sort of wickedness that could be named but Albinus had a hand in it ; and then he goes on to say that his successor, Gessius Florus, did demonstrate Albinus to have been a most

excellent person by comparison. - It is clear, therefore, that with Nero as Emperor, Gessius Florus as procurator, and Jerusalem in a ferment against Rome, things were reasonably certain to go badly. Tacitus says that the patience of the Jews lasted till the arrival of Gessius Florus : and so does Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 1 § 6). Certainly their patience had not always been conspicuous, but now, at all events, it was at an end. The first outbreak, however, was not in Jerusalem, but at Cæsarea. The citizens of Jerusalem for the moment restrained their passion, but it was Florus himself who acted there as if he had been hired to fan the war into a flame. He sent somebody to take seventeen talents out of the Temple treasure on the pretext that Cæsar wanted them. An act even less insane than this would have been sufficient. The people were in confusion immediately, and ran together to the Temple with prodigious clamour. The Emperor's sacrifices were refused at the altar. The war was begun. The soldiers of Florus descended upon the city. Some Jews were crucified ; others—men, women, and even children—were slain in more summary fashion to the number of about six hundred and thirty, Florus meanwhile actually trying to incite the people into further acts of rebellion. Berenice, the Jewish Queen of Chalcis, stood barefoot before the procurator to beseech him to spare her countrymen, and for answer saw them slain under her very eyes, and herself obliged to fly for safety to the palace. Nothing could produce even a temporary cessation of slaughter till the High Priests and others turned to the Jews themselves to beg them to provoke Florus no further, for fear lest the holy vessels of the Temple itself should be carried

off. For further defence against such disaster the Jews again broke down the cloisters on those sides of the outer Temple which were contiguous with Antonia, in order to interrupt communication between the Temple and the castle. Upon this, Florus left the city, and something resembling calm was temporarily restored.

But no lasting peace was now possible. An ex-tribune, Neapolitanus, as Roman commissioner, was sent, with Herod, to make inquiry into the recent events in Jerusalem, but found the people incurably incensed against Florus. Neapolitanus even went so far in conciliatory policy as to offer in the Temple such worship as was permitted to a foreigner, and then departed to make his report. Herod also (this was Herod Agrippa II, King of Chalcis), with Berenice his sister, appeared in the palace of the Asamoneans (which was joined to the Temple by the bridge described in chapter xx.) and made an eloquent appeal to the Jews against continuing the war. The Jews were moved at the sight of a King and Queen in tears, but the utmost they would promise was that they would not fight against the Romans, but only against Florus, a distinction, of course, quite fatuous. Some of the more violently seditious even had the impudence to cast stones at Agrippa, who thereupon retired from the scene. A further attempt at conciliation was made by their leaders, who, together with the High Priests and the Pharisees, assembled the people before 'the brazen gate, which was that gate of the inner Temple which looked towards the sun rising' (No. 7 on Plan); but still, not one of the innovators would hearken to what was said. So these men of power sent messengers

to Florus and to Agrippa to ask for a suitable military guard for the city. Meanwhile they themselves held the western hills against the seditious Jews, who already had the lower city and the Temple in their power. The reinforcement of the small garrison of Antonia had already cost many lives. For seven days there was civil war, and burning wood intended for the altar was used to set fire to the house of the High Priest and the palace of Agrippa. Some of the High Priests went into vaults underground to conceal themselves, and others fled, leaving victory with the seditious. Even the Roman garrison itself was overpowered by the revolvers, the city wall was undermined, the High Priest was slain in a ditch, and public records were destroyed.

Evidently the time was ripe for the Romans to interfere in this provincial revolt. Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, quickly arrived before the walls of Jerusalem with forty thousand soldiers in September, A.D. 66. The Jews left even their Feast of Tabernacles to resist this new invasion; they disregarded the Sabbath itself and fought during the whole of that day; the Jewish party still bent upon peace-at-any-price found themselves speaking to deaf ears; and so desperate was the resistance offered by the city that by November Gallus had abandoned the siege and taken to headlong flight. After this the Zealots had things all their own way in Jerusalem; the non-resistance party ceased to withstand them, and united preparations were made for a fight for national independence. Rome now began to regard this 'little war' very much in the same way that Britain has been compelled to regard one Indian rising after another.

Titus Flavius Vespasian was appointed commander-in-chief in order to suppress it. On the Jewish side a great many generals were appointed, among them Josephus himself ; but the leading spirit of the revolt was a certain John of Gischala, who probably had no sort of suspicion that Josephus was about to write a history of the war, and so took no steps whatever to render himself agreeable to the historian. We need not believe that John of Gischala was quite so inhuman a monster as Josephus describes him to have been ; and it may be that Josephus himself was not such a pattern of sagacious generalship as he clearly would have us imagine.

The winter of 66-7 was a time of great though ill-regulated activity in Jerusalem in preparation for the inevitable renewal of hostilities. On the other hand, Titus Vespasian set sail earlier than the winter would usually permit and landed in Palestine with fifty or sixty thousand men. After some successful operations in Galilee and elsewhere, which occupied the greater part of the year 67, Vespasian paused while John of Gischala, unintentionally but not the less effectively, did some of Vespasian's work for him in Jerusalem. John brought to Jerusalem no such accounts from Galilee as to encourage prudent men to continued resistance to Rome, but there were many in Jerusalem who had thrown prudence to the winds. On John's entry into the city, he and the Zealots seized upon a part of the Temple and made it a stronghold for themselves, as if it had been a citadel or a fortress, to the great distress of the moderate party, who called upon the High Priest Ananus (the second of that name) to lead them against John. There was civil war once

more, this time actually within the Temple. Ananus drove the Zealots into the Treasury Court, the gates of which were barred from within. They were thus deprived of the first court, that of the Gentiles, and in this Ananus placed six thousand men as guards. Owing to an honourable scruple against attacking the gates of the Treasury, Ananus did not attempt to force an entrance there. This court remained self-contained, and was of a higher level than the first court. Thus the Zealots were able to throw darts and stones upon their enemies from above, and the sanctuary pavement was defiled by the blood of the slain.

During the winter of 67-8 anarchy ruled in Jerusalem. Vespasian looked on from his winter quarters in Cæsarea at the spectacle of his enemies weakening their own powers of resistance. It was not till the early summer of 68 that he was ready to march upon Jerusalem; and just at that moment the death of Nero in Rome turned his thoughts in another direction. In 69 Vespasian himself was proclaimed Emperor, and the Judæan war remained at a standstill so far as Rome was concerned.

In the meantime the Zealots in Jerusalem summoned the assistance of a horde of Idumeans. Twenty thousand of them came to Jerusalem at John's call. On arrival there they found the city gates closed against them by the peace party, and so they were obliged to encamp near the fortress of Antonia. An exceptionally severe storm in the night drove them to try to force their way into the city if only for shelter; and the Zealots within aided them by taking the saws belonging to the Temple and cutting through the bars of the gates. To do this the Zealots must have left the

Treasury or Women's Court by the gate marked 'r' on the Plan, and proceeded to the Antonine gate, which was next to the Idumeans. It was here that they made use of their saws. That the gate thus forced was one of the gates of the tower of Antonia is clear ; for the bars were cut through 'from the outside.'

Admission being thus gained into the Antonine fortress it was no difficult matter to massacre the guards and by opening the outer gates to admit the Idumean allies. The fortress thus passed into the hands of the Zealots and Idumeans, who at once attacked the loyal guards which Ananus had stationed in and around the Temple. The outer Temple soon overflowed with blood, and the morning discovered 8500 bodies there. Jerusalem was given over to slaughter and plunder. Dead bodies were cast away without burial. Men, who had a little while before worn the sacred garments, were cast out naked to be the food of dogs and wild beasts. The body of the High Priest himself was one of these. Every sacred sentiment of an ancient nation of religionists was outraged. And as for the people in general, the Zealots fell upon them as upon a flock of unclean animals, scourging, torturing, slaying. It is no wonder that Josephus marks this period as the beginning of the end. The Idumeans themselves appear to have become at last glutted with their share in the terrible work, but no sign of shame appears in the Zealots.

Vespasian all this time recognized clearly enough that the disturbances in Jerusalem were but making his task the easier, and he determined to let them have full scope before making his own attack upon the city. It seemed to him needless to use Roman forces to

exterminate a city which was busily exterminating itself. At last, when the time was ripe, he sent his son Titus, then about thirty years of age, to complete the destruction of Jerusalem, while he himself went to Rome to make good his claim to be Emperor. By this time the Idumean allies had deserted the Zealots and returned to their home. The Jews were now left to their own devices. They set a watch at all the city gates so that none should escape who might be of service for defence. A certain Simon of Gerasa, a young man with a stormy history, had gathered a rabble army in the south of Judæa. By a resolution of the Sanhedrin, Simon was admitted into the city, and he proceeded to besiege John in the Temple. The Zealots defended themselves from the outer porticoes and battlements, from which it appears that the whole extent of Mount Moriah was now in John's possession. To defend the crest of the hill, John erected four large towers at the angles of the outer quadrangle of the Temple. Thus the civil war became more intense and cruel than ever, John and Simon each striving for supremacy in the nation. A third party existed, formed by the victors in the battle forced on Ananus, by which he secured the whole of the *Naos* court, and all that part of the *Hieron* which lay outside of the Treasury. Ananus himself had been killed, but his place was taken by Eleazer, whose father's name was Simon.

The story of Josephus is of use here to demonstrate afresh the fact that those in the other parts of the Temple had their enemies in the inner or Women's Court 'over their heads';¹ and also that those within

¹ In chapter xvi. the difference in the floor levels is said to be nine feet. The ascent from one to the other was by the fifteen circular steps on which the Temple musicians stood. See p. 192.

the inner court suffered no lack of food, for the store-rooms, well filled with provisions, were within their reach, with doors opening into their court. He does not say that the great water-wheel was within this court, but we see that it was so, since otherwise the Zealots there would have died of thirst. The position of the wheel is seen on the Plan and it is described elsewhere. It was, of course, connected with one or more of the great water tanks cut to its south. On the fall of the city all the survivors of the defence were swept into this court, as will be afterwards told.

John, however, had Eleazar and his party in turn over his head, fighting from the flat roofs of the Temple side-chambers ; he too had Simon and his party below him, occupying the upper city and a great part of the lower, both lying to the west of the Tyropœan Valley. So John in the Women's Court was attacked on both sides. Then was seen the strange spectacle of three separate factions within a city contending with one another for the mastery. The unhappy populace was the prey of all three, and the sufferings endured were beyond description. Finding the attacks from the Temple above more galling than those from the sides of the Asmonean and Kidron valleys, John determined to remove some or all of the wooden towers already referred to, and to place them behind the inner court, opposite but near to the west end of its cloister or colonnade. The reason given for the choice of this position was that there were steps on the other sides of the court, steps that would not let the towers come near enough to the roof of the sanctuary to overlook it. It would be difficult to find a more severe test of the accuracy of a plan of Herod's Temple than is

provided here. Dr. John Lightfoot's plan does not show any inner court, nor anything which corresponds with the position of these reconstructed towers. The Plan which accompanies this volume shows steps on three sides of the Women's Court, leaving the fourth free for the erection of the towers.

Before, however, any of these towers were completely rebuilt, Titus had arrived with his army at the gates of Jerusalem.

CHAPTER XIII

THE END OF THE TEMPLE

AMONGST the literary treasures prized by the Jewish nation was an ancient poem attributed to their great ancestor, the patriarch Jacob, in which occur the lines :

The sceptre shall not depart from Judah,
Nor the ruler's staff from between his feet,
Until he ¹ come whose it is ;
And unto him shall the obedience of the peoples be.

It may be a coincidence or it may be much more than a coincidence, but the fact remains that until the death of Herod the Great the Jewish nation always had a native ruler of some sort. His position was often a dependent one and his rule a shadowy one, but there he was, a figurehead of national independence and self-government. Davidic monarch, Maccabean priest-king, Edomite titular sovereign or legitimate high-priest, there was always some embodiment of the proud boast, 'we were never in bondage to any man.' With the appointment of Archelaus as Tetrarch, and the birth of the Christ child, this attenuated and attenuating sovereignty came to an end. For ten years Herod's son vainly struggled to lock Rome's

¹ A various reading gives Shiloh here (Gen. xlix. 10). The Hebrews gave the name Shiloh to their first holy place in the promised land, which they would hardly have done if the sentiment of the text had been understood—that word then forming a part of it.

fetters on a captive people. Cyrenius did this and carried the matter both of a poll tax on every adult male, and a property tax on every member of the wealthier classes. From 6 to 66 A.D. the restive nation was being gradually broken to harness. During these six decades the names of Theudas, Judas of Galilee, and an unnamed Egyptian for whom Paul was mistaken, appear in the New Testament as leaders of revolt. Josephus has others. In the breasts of each of these, as in those of their followers, the question 'Is it lawful to give tribute to Cæsar?' had received a negative reply. It was the opposition of these two, the Law and the Tribute, that fed the flame of religious patriotism and made it an undying one. Jesus was compelled to declare himself on the subject, but He took no part in the agitation except to wean Simon the Zealot from his senseless opposition to Rome, in order to become one of His apostles.

We shall greatly minify the difficulties both of the divine and the apostolic ministries if we leave out of account the political unrest and disquiet under which they were exercised. It was the ferment caused by the continuous taxing that ultimately brought Titus to the gates of Jerusalem. Struck by the ostentatious wealth and lavish extravagance of Herod the Great, Cæsar Augustus determined upon sharing the plunder of Judæa.

Failing to get much or anything of this from Archelaus, he was cast aside, with the forfeit of all his wealth, the Emperor ordering the sale for the benefit of the State of that splendid palace in Jerusalem which Herod had built, and which Josephus has elaborately described.

Succeeding Emperors were not less but more covetous of gold than the mild Augustus. They were Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero. And now the further end had come with the planting of the imperial banners—signals of desolation—around the doomed city.

In spite of its internal dissensions Jerusalem was not an easy city to capture. It owed much for defensive purposes to its site on a hill with a steep descent on three of its sides. It also owed much to its massive walls, especially those about the Temple, and to its fortifications. Moreover, we must not lose sight of the fact that one strong bond united the two (or three) factions of the Jews; namely, their desperate loyalty to national traditions, a loyalty amounting to fanaticism. Add to this that they were a religious people with a settled conviction that Jehovah had a special favour to their race and would not allow them to be finally overborne. Alas, that it should be that sincerity is no test of truth!

It was in the early days of April, at the season of the Passover in the year 70, that Titus arrived before the gates of the city. No more weighty proof of the essentially religious nature of the Jews can be adduced than the fact that, even in the midst of such a state of things as the last chapter has described, and because of it, there was a larger and more general observance of this religious festival in Jerusalem than usual. Eleazar generously opened the gates of the Temple court for the usual sacrificial ceremonies to take place. John, who had possession of the outer court of porticoes and of the Treasury court, used this opportunity to seize the *Naos* court which Eleazar had opened, and to

attach the remaining Zealots there to his party once more. Thus the faction of Eleazar was extinguished, and John and Simon remained as the two surviving rival leaders of the Jews. John held the Temple, the fortress Antonia, the Ophel spur, and the Kidron ravine. Simon had his head-quarters in the still standing tower of Phasælus, the centre one of three built by Herod in the old wall of the city, and adjoining his palace in the lower market-place. His line of defence extended from the Kidron ravine on the north of the Temple in a semicircle bending westward to Siloam on the south. Both, of course, were to hold their own against Titus. The followers of John were those Jews who imagined they had something to gain by the revolt, and the followers of Simon were those who knew they had everything to lose by Roman supremacy. The two parties united to defend what must have been one of the strongest cities in the world.

But it was to a city already devastated by civil war that Titus had come. In the Temple the blood of devout Jews had been mingled with their sacrifices, and this at the hands of their own fellow-countrymen. Blood lay in pools in the holy courts; the dead bodies of strangers had been mingled there with those of natives, and those of profane persons with those of priests stricken down by darts at the altar itself. 'And now, O most wretched city, what misery so great couldest thou suffer from the Romans when they came to purify thee with fire from thy intestine pollutions?' Josephus loses thus for a moment the restraint of the mere historian and writes what every devout Jew must have felt. But if the Temple was already polluted

beyond hope of cleansing, and if the people were weakened by civil war beyond hope of successful resistance of Rome, there yet remained to them sources of strength besides their walls ; a frenzied desperation which made them reckless of life and a sullen expectation that Jehovah would interpose by miracle to deliver them. These made them dogged to the very end.

For a few days the attack of Titus was ineffectual. The attempt of the Roman army on the western wall near the tower Hippicus was found to be hopeless, and so the assault was concentrated upon the fortress of Antonia and upon the wall and fosse to the north of the Temple. By the end of April the legions had gained possession of the northern wall and were masters of Bezetha, the northern portion of the invested city. John, however, still held Antonia, and Simon the tower Hippicus ; and they as well as Titus were now sleeplessly alert. Titus seems to have had some expectation that the Jews might capitulate, and suffered some embarrassment by false pretences on their part in this direction. Early in May he succeeded in taking the second wall, on the fifth day after taking the first. Up to this time it was his purpose not to demolish either the city or the Temple ; since a city intact would be a more valuable possession for Rome than a city in ruins. After taking this wall he paused for a little while to see whether the Jews would now surrender. The Jews, however, had a settled conviction that surrender would bring torments upon them for punishment at the hands of the Romans, and thought it better to perish in actual warfare. A conference at this point might have saved both the city and the

Temple, but the Jews had by this time lost all semblance of self-possession and were in no mood for conference. There was nothing to be done but to proceed with the siege.

On May 12th Titus attacked Antonia in order to gain command of the Temple, which by this time had become a sort of central fortress. Meanwhile the besieged as much as the besiegers forbade any to leave the city, and the horrors of famine began to be added to the numerous horrors with which they were already familiar. Corn was eaten raw or snatched half-baked from the fire. Wives and mothers pulled the morsels that husbands and children were eating out of their very mouths. People crept out in the darkness to gather wild herbs and were robbed of them on their way back. Horrible expedients were used to make a man confess where he had hidden one loaf of bread or a handful of barley meal. Cannibalism itself was not unknown. Food had become the possession of none but the tyrannical rich. In order to defend Antonia, John undermined and set fire to some of the Roman outworks, and thus began the work of burning which was to become a hideous feature in the siege. In the midst of dust and flame and smoke and noise, the combatants could neither see nor hear each other. The Roman embankments were successfully attacked by the Jews from within, and Titus decided to build a wall round the whole city so as to reduce it by a close investment. This wall he completed in an incredibly short time, the whole army being engaged on it. Famine became more and more gaunt as it stalked through the city and filled the streets with emaciated corpses, which the survivors were unable to

bury. Deep silence and a kind of deadly night seized upon the city while the people died everywhere, their eyes fixed upon the Temple in their last agony. The putrefaction was such that Titus himself called heaven to witness that this was not his doing. Some miserable Jews swallowed their gold and leaped from the walls by night only to be dissected outside. Inside the Temple, John melted down the sacred vessels, grimly quoting the ancient law that they who served the Temple should live of the Temple, and asserting that they were serving it by defending it from the Romans. Every sacred sentiment of the Jews seems to have been by this time annihilated.

Still Antonia remained untaken. The surrounding country had been denuded of trees to be used in Roman embankments and had become a desert. The loss of its former beauty seems to have affected the Jews as deeply as the desecration of the city itself. Their defence became more and more feeble, while the Romans became more and more confident. At last, by a happy combination of circumstances, Titus took possession of Antonia by night on July 5th. This mastery of the fortress was the decisive point in the campaign. Henceforth the time necessary for the defeat of the whole city was only to be measured by the persistence of the desperation of the Jews. The Temple now became the prize to be aimed at. There was but a narrow space between it and Antonia, and this space became the focus of the struggle and the scene of the fiercest fighting. If Josephus is to be believed, Titus made one last effort to keep the Temple intact. He appealed to John to surrender it, and promised that the sacrifices (which had already been

discontinued) should be still offered by whomsoever John might select. Josephus himself was charged with this embassy to John, and gives a report of his speech on the occasion. But John was not to be moved and professed to believe that Titus was but afraid to proceed with the war.

The first attack upon the Temple was made three hours before sunrise in the hope that the guards would be found asleep. They were awake, however, and a confused battle ensued in the darkness ; this was continued in the narrow space between Antonia and the Temple till eleven o'clock in the morning, when both parties retired, in uncertainty as to which had won. The rest of the army was then occupied for seven days in making a broad way up to the Temple for the passage of the engines. The difficulties to be overcome were the filling up of a portion of the moat and the making of a glacis of earth against the platform on which the Temple stood. The height of the scarped rock of the moat on the east side of Antonia was from sixty to eighty-five feet. When this was partly filled up, four earthworks, constructed partly of fascines of wood, were raised against the walls of the 'Ir. On these it was intended to place the battering-rams and other engines. Their position is clearly given by Josephus (*War* vi. 2 § 7), and may easily be located on the Plan. The first was opposite the north-western corner of the 'inner Temple,' a phrase which means here not the Treasury or Women's court, but the Priests' court, directly in the rear of the *Naos*. The second is described as having been raised at the northern edifice or hall which was between the two gates. There being only three principal gates on that

side of the Temple enclosure, this hall facing north can only have been the huge slaughter-house which masked Gate No. 5, this being the centre one of the three equidistant gates. Of the remaining two, one was at the western portico of the outer Temple, and the other opposite the northern portico.

The first and second of these earthworks were directed against the 'Ir enclosure. No military engineer would think it necessary to attempt more than two simultaneous breaches of a single enclosure, equally strong on all sides. Accordingly, the third and fourth earthworks were directed against the walls which supported the double porticoes running round the hill of Moriah to the length of five furlongs. This was the 'outer Temple' of Josephus. One of these earthworks looked toward the city lying on the west, and the other, from the outer side (*i.e.* the north) of the wall, was designed for the further breaking down of the wall in which a breach had been made at the taking of Antonia. This would seem to have been a part of the plan for making the broad way already referred to.

The plateau of Moriah now became the theatre of the attack and defence. The Jews held the Temple, from which they made frequent sallies. In attempting to set fire to one of the cloisters which joined the Temple to Antonia, they made a beginning in burning the sacred timbers, and at last accomplished the disconnection. The Jews also filled part of the roof of the western portico with dry wood and set fire to it. The Romans had meanwhile scaled the walls and were upon the roof of the cloister when the flames suddenly burst forth to their great consternation. The cloister

was burnt down as far as John's tower. Next day the Romans themselves burnt down the northern cloister as far eastward as to the Kidron valley. Meanwhile, in the city, the famine was such that men were gnawing the leather from their shields, and one mother had made a meal of her own child.

The western wall of the Temple was, like the rest, nine or ten feet broad, of squared stones clamped together ; and it resisted all the pressure which, during six days, the Roman engines brought to bear upon it. Seeing the futility of his efforts, both here and at the northern gate (No. 5), Titus reluctantly gave orders that fire should be applied to the huge gates of the 'I'r. His action in doing this against his better judgment and as a matter of military necessity need not be impugned as insincere, as he evidently wished to preserve the Temple to be an ornament of the Roman Empire. At all events, that is what Josephus would have us believe. Tacitus, on the contrary, says that Titus insisted upon the necessity of destroying an edifice with which two superstitions equally fatal were associated—that of the Jews and that of the Christians. These two superstitions, he says, though contrary to one another, Titus held to be of the same source ; the Christians came from the Jews ; the root torn up, the shoot would perish quickly. Neither of these conjectures has the confirmation of the one person who knew what his own thoughts were. Titus himself said no word about the matter, unless he spoke the words Josephus attributes to him.

It was on August 8th that Titus gave the order to set the gates of the Temple on fire. The next day he ordered the fire to be quenched and held a council

of war to decide whether the Temple should be burned. The gates, however, were already burnt. Nothing hitherto had so profoundly moved the Jews as this feature, which, in their superstitious confidence, they had believed to be impossible. The gates themselves, being sheathed not with stout plates of iron but with thin plates of silver on the outside and of gold on the inside, had quickly caught fire and had blazed furiously. The flames had spread inward to the small porticoes with which each gate was furnished and in one of which Peter had taken refuge on the night of his denial. As the fire is described as being 'all about the Jews,' we may draw the inference that several of the outer gates of the 'Ir were simultaneously burnt—the porticoes within being only partly consumed.

The huge mass of the Temple enclosure, still intact but for its gates, now lay at the mercy of the invaders. An assault made at any one or more of the breaches in its wall would have resulted in a great loss of life, owing to the desperate courage of the Jews within. That is why Titus called the council of war on August 9th. Six principal officers attended, one of whom was Marcus Antonius Julianus, the procurator of Judæa and a successor of Pontius Pilate. He unhesitatingly gave his vote for the demolition of the whole Temple, and in this he was supported by two of his colleagues in the council. The casting vote of the General was for its preservation, and orders were given for its storming into surrender on the following morning.

It was while preparations for this storming were in progress that an accident happened which rendered the storming unnecessary and determined that the

fate of the building should be what Jesus had prophesied when He said that 'one stone should not be left upon another.' A Roman soldier obtaining unseen entrance, without staying for any orders, and being hurried by a sort of divine frenzy, snatched somewhat out of the embers of a smouldering portico and gate, and being lifted up by another soldier, set fire to a golden window through which there was a passage to the sanctuary on the north side. The flames soon spread to the adjoining woodwork and endangered the priests' chambers round the sanctuary. Titus at the time was resting in his tent. Hearing of the fire he ran into the building where everything was in confusion, and where if he gave any orders to stop the fire his orders were not heard or, at all events, not obeyed. On the contrary, another legionary put fire under the hinges of a gate, which must have been that of the holy place, since the Holy of Holies had no gate, but only a curtain. Titus was but a moment before admiring the sanctuary, which he had never yet seen. He was one of the last to see it, for the whole place was soon in flames. This was on August 10th in the year A.D. 70.

While the Temple was burning everything was plundered that came to hand, and the plunderers, whether children or old men, profane persons or priests, were slain when caught. The noise of the flames and of the affrighted people was terrible, and 'one would have thought that the blood was larger in quantity than the fire.' Crowds of refugees gathered around and climbed up the altar steps, where at least they thought they were safe. Slain there, their bodies slipped down to the pavement. No part of the struc-



LOWER HINGE OF ANCIENT CITY GATE (PUTEOLI)
(*IN SITU*, WITH PIVOT WORN AWAY)

Such hinges are referred to in 1 Chronicles xxii. 3

ture remained, the Romans judging that the burning, once begun, should be thorough and complete. Of the 6000 people who had flocked to the building to see its miraculous preservation none escaped alive. Some threw themselves down headlong from the roof of Solomon's Portico, and others were burnt to death. The thousands of Jews who thus perished had been impelled to the Temple by the belief that God would now at last grant them miraculous deliverance. Vast treasures which the Temple contained were destroyed ; but at least the Table of Shewbread, the candlestick, and the silver trumpets were hurriedly carried away ; for these afterwards figured in a triumph at Rome and were subsequently sculptured on the arch of Titus there, where their image may be studied to this day. The Ark itself, if Ark there were, the place of which was further within the sanctuary, perished in the fire. Or it may be that in Herod's Temple there was no Ark but only a stone to represent it. There is a tradition to that effect in the Talmud.

The Temple being overthrown, the city was not long to survive. The Roman ensigns were at once set up in the Temple over against its eastern gate—the ' Beautiful Gate ' of Acts—and sacrifices were offered to them. After that no devout Jew (and all Jews were in a sense devout) could put much heart into the defence of the city ; and, as to physical strength, the famine-stricken inhabitants could not have had very much left. It seems that the officials had somehow managed to rescue from the Temple certain precious things. These were now delivered up to Titus by a certain priest in return for a promise of his own personal safety. There were two candlesticks, with

tables and bowls and vials, all made of solid gold and very heavy ; also veils and garments, with the precious stones, and a great number of other vessels that belonged to the Temple worship ; as also a large quantity of cinnamon and cassia and other sweet spices for incense, some priests' coats and girdles and other treasures. The last belongings of the Temple had now gone out of the possession of the Jews. Simon and John, companions in adversity, were discovered in a subterranean cavern ; John was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and Simon was reserved for the triumph in Rome, and to be then slain at the Tarpeian rock. By September 8th all resistance was over.

Into what had been the Treasury court the unhappy inhabitants of the city were driven at its capture. Here was erected a martial court for the decision of each one's fate. The aged and infirm were not brought there, but were killed at sight. The rest appeared before Fronto, the commander of the two legions from Alexandria, and received their sentence from his lips. Those who were of martial appearance were reserved to grace Cæsar's triumph ; those under seventeen years of age were sold as slaves ; those who were reported to have been seditious and robbers were beheaded. A great and promiscuous crowd was sent to work in the Egyptian mines. Some were selected as gladiators and *bestiarii*, and distributed among the chief provincial towns of Syria. During the adjudication of these cases 11,000 are said to have died of hunger, most of them being suicides refusing to eat the Gentile rations.

In those walls, which had for so many years echoed

the mirth and gladness of the Jewish festivals and which had so often heard the teaching of Jesus, there must have stood before Fronto some who forty years before had joined a mournful procession on its way from this place, and had heard the words, ' Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for Me, but weep for yourselves and for your children. For behold the days are coming in which they shall say, Blessed are the barren and the wombs that never bare.' The days had come !

In due course Titus had his triumph at Rome. The multitude and the magnificence of the shows were beyond description. Among the rest the spoils from the Temple in Jerusalem made a notable figure, though the construction of the golden candlestick had been altered.¹ Seven hundred tall and handsome Jewish captives walked in front of Vespasian and Titus. Simon, moreover, figured in the procession, and must have been prepared, if necessary, to make a vivid comment on some words of St. Paul's about being led in triumph, ' a savour from death unto death.' After the triumph was over Vespasian built in Rome a Temple to Peace and deposited therein the golden vessels and spoils that were taken out of the Temple in Jerusalem ; but the law and the purple veils of the holy place he laid up in the royal palace itself and kept them there.

From September, 70, to the year 122, Jerusalem was nothing but a field of rubbish, ruins, and bones, with only Herod's three towers still standing. Then Hadrian rebuilt it as a Roman city. In 362 Julian

¹ Either actually or in the representation of it in the arch of Titus, or in the imagination of Josephus.

gave permission to the Jews to rebuild the Temple. The attempt was rendered abortive by gases bursting into flame which issued from the ruins and destroyed the work of the labourers. What was the origin of the flame is matter of conjecture, but we can imagine that a very slight outburst of that sort would be enough to discourage so precarious a scheme upon so awful a



PANEL FROM THE ARCH OF TITUS IN ROME

Showing the golden candlestick, shewbread-table and silver trumpets, as carried in triumphal procession, 72 A.D.

site. The only tangible memorials of these long past years, beyond Herod's towers and the Warning Stone, are some Roman coins in museums which bear the figure of a Jewish warrior with his hands bound, and of a woman sitting in desolation under the shade of a palm tree, with the inscription 'Judæa captive'; and the ancient sculptures of the Arch of Titus at Rome, where a panel, under cover from the weather, still represents that section of the triumphal procession in which the sacred vessels of the Temple were borne aloft amid Roman ensigns. How far this sculpture

represents the size and appearance of the actual objects has been discussed by the author in the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund for October, 1906.¹

¹ In this paper the argument is held that the bas-reliefs on the arch are cut to the exact size of the originals, which were then in the Temple of Peace. Commendatore Boni, of Rome, had the arch cleaned of the grime of centuries in order to take accurate measurements. These were found, in nearly every case, to agree with the Bible descriptions of size, when the sacred cubit of nine-tenths of a foot was understood to be meant in them.

CHAPTER XIV

THE TEMPLE IN CHRISTIAN THOUGHT

IN course of time the Jews ceased to be a nation and became a race. In religion, the Talmud was reconstructed and, in Jewish estimation, took the place of the Temple. It is in Christianity rather than in Judaism that the Temple has a perpetual existence. Jerusalem has become what Renan calls 'the city of the heart' for Christendom, and the heart of that city it still the Temple. Its courts, its altar, its sanctuary, its priests, its sacrifices, its phraseology of worship, even its ritual, are all still evident in the terminology of the Christian Church, and have taken a strong hold upon her sentiment and her imagination. If it were possible to eliminate from Christian consciousness what she owes directly and indirectly to the Temple, it would be found that her fundamental conceptions had suffered vitally. And while these conceptions are due to the whole religious history of the successive Temples, they materialize themselves chiefly around the last of the succession—that one in which Jesus and His disciples had walked and taught.

Much of this is due, of course, to the New Testament writings of the Christian apostles who were Jews by race. To them, rather than to Jesus Himself, is traceable that interweaving of Temple associations with Christian thought which became a part of its very texture.

St. Paul is not less conspicuous than the other apostles in this respect. Notwithstanding all that he had suffered from Jews and Jewish Christians in Jerusalem, he still remained saturated with Jewish ideas and modes of thought. The Jews knew him as the 'apostle to the Gentiles,' but the Gentiles must always have recognized in him an apostle from the Jews. In one of his earliest extant epistles he uses an allegory so distinctly Hebrew that some of the Galatians to whom he was writing must have found it as obscure as we do. But one point in it is quite clear: 'Jerusalem which is from above is free, which is the mother of us all.' In a still earlier epistle there is another rather obscure reference to a 'man of lawlessness'—obscure because the historical key to the situation is now lost—but, whoever and whatever the man was or is, St. Paul pictures him as arrogantly 'sitting in the Temple of God,' a metaphor which indicates that St. Paul figured to himself the Christian Church as a Temple. That metaphor recurs again and again. 'Know ye not that ye are a Temple of God and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? . . . The Temple of God is holy, which Temple ye are.' Again, in the same epistle, 'Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us.' Not the Church only, but also the individual believer is described as 'a Temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you.' Incidentally, when defending the right of a Christian apostle to maintenance by the Church, he enforces his contention by reference to the fact that 'they which minister about sacred things eat of the things of the Temple, and they which wait upon the altar have their portion with the altar.' Again, the bodies of believers are not only a Temple, they are

also a sacrifice ; ' I beseech you . . . to present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is your spiritual worship.' And once, in a notable passage, he regards his own ministry as a performance of the priestly office among the Gentiles. ' Grace was given me that I should be a minister of Christ Jesus unto the Gentiles, ministering the Gospel of God as in a sacrifice, that the offering up of the Gentiles might be made acceptable, being a sacrifice which the Holy Ghost has made holy ' (Rom. xii. 1 ; xv. 16).

These are allusions which occur in epistles written before that memorable visit of St. Paul to the Temple which came so near to a fatal termination for him in the matter of Trophimus the Ephesian. That visit and its consequences naturally burnt the impression of the Temple's exclusive limitations into the apostle's mind indelibly. So soon as leisure came to him, in the captivity at Rome which was one result of the visit, he wrote an epistle to the Ephesian Christians, and in it he makes reference to that fatal ' middle wall of partition ' in the Temple ; reference so sternly uncompromising as to amaze by its temerity the reader who remembers that it was by reason of this very matter that he was now awaiting his trial in Rome. ' Remember,' he says, ' that you Gentiles were alienated from the commonwealth of Israel, contemptuously called the Uncircumcision, strangers to the covenant, held at arm's length, regarded as hopelessly apart from God in the world. But now Christ has changed all that for you. He has broken down the middle wall of partition. He has slain the enmity which that barrier indicated. Through Him, we, both Jews and Gentiles, are brought nigh to the holiest and have our access in

one Spirit unto the Father. So then, as Christians, ye are no longer strangers and sojourners, but fellow-citizens. Nay, ye are not simply admitted to the inner sanctuary, ye *are* the sanctuary. In Christ ye are builded together into a holy Temple, a habitation of God.' In the same epistle he alludes once more to Christ as 'an offering and a sacrifice to God for an odour of a sweet smell'—the very sacrificial phrase used repeatedly in the Book of Leviticus. Varying his use of the metaphor, he again represents the ideal Church as a holy sacrifice or offering, 'cleansed by the laver of regeneration' and 'not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing, but holy and without blemish,' as were the sheep and lambs offered daily in the Temple.

During the same captivity St. Paul wrote a touching Epistle to the Philippians. Contemplating the possibility of imminent martyrdom, it is still the Temple and its sacrifices which are the background and framework of his thoughts. 'If I am required to pour out my life-blood as a libation over the sacrificial offering of your faith, I still rejoice, and I ask you also to rejoice.' It may be that he recognized that his readers would think rather of heathen libations than of Jewish drink-offerings;¹ and in either case the metaphor is equally appropriate. But that he himself was thinking of the Jewish Temple ritual seems to be evident when we find that later on, when his martyrdom was actually impending, he writes in almost the same words to Timothy—to a man, that is, whose modes of thought were as little heathen and as intensely Jewish as his

¹ A beautiful analogy is that of Socrates, who, when handed the fatal cup of hemlock, requested permission of his jailor to pour out a few drops as a libation to the gods. This being denied to him, he ordered a cock to be sacrificed to Esculapius, the god of health, in his last words.

own. There was no need in writing to Timothy to draw upon heathenism for a metaphor, and so we may conclude that he was not doing so when he wrote in the same phrase to the Philippians.

One last vigorous example may be drawn from the same epistle. 'I suffered,' he says, 'the loss of all things for Christ, and I do count them but dung.' In all burnt sacrifices consumed in the altar fires the contents of the stomach and of the entrails of animals were rejected and carried away. A washing-room for this purpose is indicated in the Plan. Paul's loss for the sake of Christ was literally the loss of all those things which human nature counts dear. To him they counted as refuse, utterly worthless, unworthy to be made a sacrifice of—in a word, dung.

The Epistle of St. James is, upon any view of it, a surprising document. The writer of it was the very man who withstood, judiciously but yet firmly, the teaching of St. Paul that there was no need for a Gentile to become, in any sense, a Jewish proselyte in order to become a Christian disciple. He was the leader and spokesman of that great company of priests who were obedient to the faith, whose view was that Christianity was a product of Judaism, and was only to be entered upon by way of Judaism. His epistle is addressed to Jewish Christians. There is no allusion in it to the controversy with Paul about this matter, but this fact may be accounted for if we assume that the epistle was written before the controversy arose. James writes like an Old Testament moralist with a tinge of Christian sentiment. But his morality is not that of the ancient prophets, who upon occasion denounced the Temple observances when they had

degenerated into mere ritual ; still less is it that of the priestly school who upheld that ritual ; it is rather the austere and unemotional morality of the Wisdom literature which ignores the Temple. One is tempted to surmise that he only assumed the priestly attitude in his official situation as the leader of the Hebrew Christians against the attitude of St. Paul. At all events, we look in vain in his epistle, Jewish as it is, for any allusion to the Temple idea in Christian consciousness. Once, indeed, he appears to ignore it deliberately. He has a passage against swearing which is obviously reminiscent of a passage in the Sermon on the Mount ; but he omits from it the reference to swearing ' by Jerusalem ' which is conspicuous in the words of Jesus as reported by St. Matthew.

By way of contrast with the Epistle of St. James we have an anonymous Epistle to the Hebrews which presents the Christian consciousness as saturated through and through with the Temple sentiment. To quote the Temple passages from this epistle would be to quote almost the whole epistle. The Epistle to the Hebrews is, to a far greater extent than any other New Testament document, the source of that element in Christian thought which habitually expresses itself in terms of the Temple worship. And yet this writer has not the smallest sympathy with the narrow views of the Jerusalem school of Judaisers, but writes to purify and enlarge their conceptions and to provide for them a golden bridge by which they might pass from one dispensation to the other. He is distinctly Pauline in his conception of Christianity as the absolute religion, and as by no means an outcome of Judaism. All phases of religion are, in his view, but stages in

the development of Christianity, and the Jewish religion was but one notable example of the universal preparation for Christ. The Melchizedek passage in his epistle is the centre and pivot upon which the whole argument turns. Melchizedek was an even more significant indication of the absolute religion than was Judaism itself ; and yet Melchizedek stood altogether apart from, and was superior to, the very progenitor of the Hebrews. Judaism, all through its history, like its Tabernacle, was but a copy and a shadow of the divine ' pattern ' and ideal. The Hebrew system of religion was but one representation of the heavenly things ; and it represented the eternal substance only as a shadow represents the outline of some bodily form. The most that it could do was to indicate the existence of the true ideal and to direct attention thereto. Jesus Himself sprang from no priestly tribe of the Jews ; His was an eternal priesthood, the priesthood of humanity rather than that of a race of men ; He was not Jewish, but universal. So far, then, from Christianity being conditioned by Judaism, the exact contrary is the teaching of this epistle. Judaism is to be interpreted by Christianity. The ideas and usages and phraseology of the Temple worship are only to be rightly understood when they are transferred to the ampler region and purer atmosphere of the Christian faith. This epistle, written while the Temple still stood, stands with the speech of St. Stephen, with the teaching of St. Paul, and with the Gospels themselves, for the unconditioned supremacy of Christianity ; and one of the minor things we owe to it is the transplanting of the once visible Temple, and of all that it stood for, into the region of the universal faith.

Never in the history of the Jewish religion did the terms of it know so wealthy a significance as they acquire in the Christian Epistle to the Hebrews.

The first Epistle of Peter, written to the Diaspora, speaks of 'the sprinkling of the blood of Christ' in its very first sentence, and introduces the phrase without explanatory comment, as if its implication were already obvious and familiar. In the course of the first chapter a similar phrase is again introduced, and is followed by an amplification quite in accordance with the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews: Christ 'was foreknown indeed before the foundation of the world, but was manifested at the end of the times.' Later in the epistle a Pauline conception is introduced: Christians are 'a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices . . . a royal priesthood.' St. Peter had evidently acquired the lesson taught him by the vision of the sheet let down from heaven. Another epistle which bears Peter's name makes no reference to the Temple or its worship. Nor does the epistle which bears the name of Jude contain any such reference, unless there be by possibility a verbal allusion underlying a phrase about 'garments spotted by the flesh,' and another concerning disciples 'presented without blemish.'

The writings of St. John are of a date later than the Temple, and breathe an atmosphere of philosophy so remote from Judaism that we should hardly expect to find the consciousness of the Temple here unless it had by this time become inextricably interwoven with the texture of Christian thought. The fourth Gospel is a record and an interpretation of the teaching of Jesus in earlier times and so does not concern us

in our present inquiry, except in so far as it has already been used in former chapters of this work. The Epistles of John, however, are germane to our inquiry. What do we find in them as matter of fact? In the first epistle, though the Temple allusions are by no means frequent nor of the staple of the argument, yet they are found to be actually those that are most familiarly precious in the Christian Church throughout the ages. There are two such allusions. One is 'the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin.' The other, occurring twice, describes Christ as 'the propitiation for our sins.' The two other very short epistles, which are merely letters and not treatises, do not allude to the matter. But the two striking phrases above quoted are abundantly sufficient to show how firmly and how distinctly the legacy of the Temple and its sacrifices had by this time become embedded in Christian teaching.

The Apocalypse introduces a new element, side by side with references that are of the familiar sort. The book is not only reminiscent of the Temple at Jerusalem, but is also anticipatory of the Temple in the ideal New Jerusalem. The apocalyptic element is more prominent than the historical, and has given its name to the book, but the historical element is nevertheless notable. Oftener than not the historical and the apocalyptic are blended in one and the same passage in a fashion almost unknown in the earlier writers. But early in the book there are Pauline phrases, and expressions familiar in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The saints are 'washed in His blood,' 'purchased with blood,' and are 'priests unto God.' The historical reminiscence which occurs oftenest

throughout the book is the reproduction of the earliest announcement of the ministry of Jesus, John the Baptist's description of Him as 'the lamb of God.' Except once, in St. Peter's Epistle, that description of Christ does not occur elsewhere in the apostolic writings, but here in the Apocalypse it recurs constantly. Yet even these historical allusions are presently blended with the apocalyptic.

The key to the whole situation in the Apocalypse is the conception of a holy Jerusalem rather than a holy Temple in Jerusalem. The sanctity of the Temple has become extended in the vision to the whole city of God—the New Jerusalem. The priests of God are not only 'priests unto God' in the Temple, they are priests who 'shall reign' in the holy city, 'a kingdom of priests.' The Temple and the throne are constantly identified in this city of God. St. Paul has a glimpse of this conception in his 'Jerusalem which is above, the mother of us all,' and the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews sees it still more clearly in his 'city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem,' but it remained for the Apocalypse to deepen these glimpses into an ordered vision. It draws upon Ezekiel for the 'measuring reed,' and upon rabbinical lore for the 'saints beneath the altar,' but whatever the historical source of the allusions may be, they are habitually wrought into the new framework of the city of God. The altar, the incense, the ministering priests, all are here and are all part of a Temple which is a city, and a city which has a throne. The climax of the vision occurs towards the end of it. 'I saw no Temple therein: for the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb are the Temple thereof. And the lamp thereof is the Lamb.'

It may be that in the New Testament there are ideas drawn from heathen temples which are incorporated in Christian thought, as there are certainly many such ideas which are cited only to be excluded from Christian conceptions. In patristic times, doubtless, Christianity assimilated some ideas and usages from Greek non-Christian religions. The late Dr. Hatch has exhibited and made the most of these. 'In the splendid ceremonial of Eastern and Western worship,' he says, 'in the blaze of lights, in the separation of the central part of the rite from common view, in the procession of torch-bearers, chanting their sacred hymns, there is the survival . . . of what I cannot find in my heart to call a pagan ceremonial; because, though it was the expression of a less enlightened faith, yet it was offered to God from the heart.' That may be so; and, if so, it is quite in accordance with the spirit of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which claims that all manifestations of religion are preparatory and contributory to Christ. But there can be no doubt whatever that, of all these preparatory religions, it is the Hebrew religion which is overwhelmingly predominant among those which have been made contributory to the Christian Church. Some of the things which Hatch traces to Greek religion—the seclusion of the central rite from common view, for example—are far more obviously and directly traceable to the Jewish sanctuary than to any other.

Universal Christianity is united in this one thing. It aims at, and in part it has already realized, that ideal of the Apocalypse that the Temple is the Kingdom of God. Since A.D. 70 the Temple built with hands has disappeared, as it was necessary that it should do,

but it is with us still in an infinitely larger sense. In the Roman branch of the Catholic Church the fault which is found by Protestants is that the old Jewish ideas and usages are all too literally reproduced and perpetuated. The priest, the altar, and the sacrifice are found to be in that Church too little in accordance with the intenser spiritual interpretation of them which the New Testament teaches. But at all events it remains true that if the Roman Church could be divested of what it owes to the Jewish Temple it would be poor indeed.

In another sense the same may be said of the Protestant Churches. The Book of Common Prayer is saturated with modes of expression which are directly derived from the Temple and its worship. The hymns which are common to all the Churches are not less full than the Roman ritual of phrases, and more than phrases, which have their origin in Jewish worship, but which are often used to express eternal truths as vases are used to contain precious fragrances. The whole expression and essence of the forms of worship and devotion and thought in the Christian Church would be altered beyond recognition if the Hebrew element could and should by possibility be eliminated from it. The Temple of to-day is the universal Church of Christ ; and the Temple of the day that is to be is the whole race of saintly men incorporated into the New Jerusalem, the city of God, for a habitation of God in the Spirit.

In the meanwhile the burning of the Jewish Temple, so necessary to the peace of the early Christians, remains God's great object-lesson to the Churches that to obey is better than to sacrifice ; and to hearken than to offer the fat of rams.

HEROD'S TEMPLE

PART II

ITS ACTUAL STRUCTURE

CHAPTER XV

OUR SOURCES OF KNOWLEDGE

i

JOSEPHUS was twenty-seven years of age when he was sent into the two Galilees from Jerusalem to prepare for the war with Rome, which all then saw impending. In A.D. 66 the flame of strife was kindled, and, after a protracted defence of his province, Josephus fell into the hands of the Romans as a prisoner of war.

Now took place one of those events in the history of Josephus which his readers deplore, and which has brought his writings into unmerited suspicion. Taken to Cæsarea for winter quarters in the autumn of 68 with the soldiery, he resolved to place at the disposal of Vespasian his unrivalled knowledge of public affairs ; and, to gain his liberty, became a supporter of Rome. It is possible that in doing this he was actuated by a genuine regard for his stricken country, and in the unequal contest deemed her submission to Rome to be the least of all the evils which might befall her. Even should we credit him with this not unpatriotic motive for his *volte face*, nothing can

excuse the way in which he endeavoured to account for it to his own countrymen. He asserted that, guided by prophetic power, he had foretold the elevation of both Vespasian and Titus to the imperial purple by saluting them as Emperors when they were but generals in the service of Rome. On this account—such is his fiction—when Vespasian was elected Emperor, having gone to Rome for this purpose, Titus, now commander-in-chief in Palestine, ordered Josephus' fetters to be struck off, and took him into his confidence as a member of the Head-quarters Staff. It was while in this character, as civil adviser to the young general, that the attack on Jerusalem took place on the third day of the Feast of the Passover, when the body of the Jewish people were assembled within their city's wall.¹ The astute proposal which timed this attack could have originated only in the mind of a member of the chosen people, and there is no one to whom we can attribute it but Josephus.

While, however, we hold Josephus guilty of tergiversation and deceit as to the grounds of his favourable relations with the Roman authorities—for he afterwards lived at Rome, in the sunshine of the smile of three Emperors—we cannot afford wholly to discount the value of his testimony as to all other matters.

He was built of the stuff of which courtiers are made, but even a courtier may speak truth as to things which do not require the supple knee. There are in his writings ten thousand items of which he had an un-

¹ 'They came up from all parts of the country to the feast of unleavened bread, and suddenly found themselves meshed in with the war, which density of population first produced a pestilence, and very soon afterwards a famine' (*War* vi. 9 § 3).

rivalled knowledge, and as to which an ex-priest of the Jewish hierarchy had no bias, one way or another. Among these subjects are those which concern the topography of Jerusalem and the fabric of the Temple. He was in the habit of submitting translations of his books to the Cæsar of the day before their publication, but even this censorship would not require him to say that a distance or a spot was other than it was. Rather, it would act the other way, and induce an extra carefulness in the narration of events of which Vespasian or Titus might have as good a knowledge as himself.

As we come to close grips with Josephus on the fields of history and archæology, we shall find that he wrote, not as a modern and Western would do, with the scale and the foot-rule in his hand, but as an historian anxious rather to produce broad effects and striking contrasts. Herein lies the vitality of his work as well as much of its charm, and it is to him that we owe those bird's-eye views of the city and its Temple without which the crabbed and cryptic utterances of the Rabbis would not be intelligible.

ii

There are available no new or secret sources of information as to the plan or aspect of the Temple in which Jesus carried on much of His missionary work. Of those which have long been known, one of the sixty-three Tractates of the Mishna is devoted to this topic. It is named *Middoth* (Measurements) and contains five chapters and some hundred 'mishnaioth' or determinations, but has no commentary in the Talmud.

As this tractate is reproduced entire, by translation, in Appendix II, it is necessary here only to say that portions of the Mishna belong to the time of Christ and some fractions bear internal evidence taking them back to 180 B.C. The tractate *Middoth*, however, appears to have been written soon after the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70. This is just such a literary work as we would expect the Sanhedrin sitting at Jamnia or Tiberias to produce. Their Temple destroyed, and they themselves forbidden to visit its site, what is so natural as that those elders who loved it should enshrine their memories of it in a written document such as that we have before us? While, however, almost contemporary dates are to be given to this the tenth tractate of the sixth book of the Mishna and to the last days of the Temple itself, it is to be observed that the occasional mention of Rabbi Jehudah in the pages of the former is to be accounted for by the fact that 'Jehudah the Holy' was the last authorized editor or compiler of the whole book of mishnic tractates, and that he lived at the close of the second century of our era. His appearance, however, in *Middoth* is but occasional and unimportant, and there is no certainty that he is the interlocuter named.

In *Middoth* we thus have a body of written evidence coming down to us from the time of Josephus with which he, living in Rome, was unacquainted. This may be used to test his figures, and, with a few clerical errors corrected, it is wholly consistent with itself and with him. Of these errors we may instance the substitution of the word 'south' for north in iii. 1, and the difference of two cubits required in Appendix II to make items 86 and 101 harmonize. Beyond these

there is no discrepancy ; though in two cases—items 69 and 102—the actual distance is not given, but the spaces are referred to as ‘ the remainder,’ and left to be inferred. No difficulty has been found in discovering what the missing figures are. The only actual contradiction between the two authorities is the unimportant one where Josephus says that the *Soreg* was 3 cubits high, the Rabbis saying that it was 10 hand-breadths high, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits. Beyond these negligible quantities there is the most perfect accord, each of the two reminiscent documents contributing something to that total which has been used in drawing up the plan of the Herodian Temple herewith presented.¹

To anyone who is familiar—and who is not ?—with the oblong representation of Herod's Temple in its ground-plan usually given in Manuals, Helps, and Dictionaries, the square enclosure within which it is here presented will come as an unaccustomed presentment, and one which will require ‘ confirmation strong as holy writ ’ for its acceptance. So confident of success, however, are the designer and approvers of this new plan that they fear more the force of prejudice and indifference than the critical examination of their work. This criticism they court, and in doing so would take leave to point out that since about A.D. 1650 no serious and patient attempt has been made to reconstruct the Herodian Temple from the literary materials at hand. At that time Dr. John Lightfoot employed the vast resources of his rabbinical learning in preparing his *Prospect of the Temple*. He laboured, however, under the disadvantage of conceiving that there was but a single Temple plan from Solomon to

¹ For the scheduled arrangement of their figures see Appendix I.

Herod, and has thus combined the materials of the two previous structures to make the third design. This fatal error vitiates the whole of his learned labour, though his literary work remains a vast quarry from which the modern Hebraist may draw his linguistic verdicts. Yet Lightfoot's unaltered ground-plan remains to this day in the mind of millions representative of the Temple of the New Testament as consisting of two squares lying east and west of one another. Now, for the first time since its destruction, the students of the square Jewish Temple as it was in the time of our Lord may trace His footsteps as He taught there, and, in thought, accompany Him as He walked in the Court of the Gentiles, or stand beside Him as He blessed little children or pronounced the acquittal of the woman who had been a sinner.

iii

Of that place of hallowed memories there remains the single notable stone of the discovery of which we have written in chapter xi. This, without doubt, is a portion of the original structure, and bears on its face the insignia of such sanctity as can be derived from the fact that apostles, disciples, and possibly Christ Himself must have read its legend.¹ It is a short obelisk, of which the late Dr. Albert Long, then President of the Robert College in Constantinople, sent in 1900 the following account :—

‘I must remark that the stone, being soft and

¹ For particulars as to the inscription on the pillar see p. 127, and for the *Sorag* itself see Index. M. Clermont Ganneau's original description of the finding of the stone is given in the *Quarterly Statement* of the P.E.F. for August, 1871.

calcareous, is very much worn and has suffered such rough usage during its long journeys, and especially during the fourteen years when it was lying, unrecognized, among the mass of material collected in the caves of the Imperial Museum, that it has become so chipped upon the edges as to render impossible the *exact* measures you would like."

To his letter Dr. Long kindly appended a set of ratios and measurements, carefully taken by him, which, with those of Professor Clermont Ganneau, are as follows :—

<i>M. Ganneau's Ratios.</i>			<i>Dr. Long's Ratios.</i>		
		Centimetres.			Centimetres.
1. Thickness	...	39	Thickness	...	40
2. Height	...	60	Height	...	60
3. Length	...	90	Length	...	90

M. Clermont Ganneau, however, states that the Stéla is a 'gently sloping one (at about a centimetre).' There is thus no actual difference between the two ratios, as the discoverer evidently took the measure of the upper portion of the Stéla, whereas Dr. Long has taken his 'thickness' from the lower portion. The value of M. Clermont Ganneau's and Dr. Long's metric measurements in British inches are as follows:—

<i>M. Ganneau's Lengths.</i>			<i>Dr. Long's Lengths.</i>		
		Inches.			Inches.
Thickness	...	15.486081	Thickness	...	15 $\frac{4}{5}$
Height	...	23.824740	Height	...	23 $\frac{1}{3}$
Length	...	35.737110	Length	...	35

In considering these figures with their slight discrepancies, we are struck by the fact that the *difference* between the second and the third dimension (*i.e.* the height and length) in both sets of measurements is that of the Greek or Roman foot. The difference in

M. Clermont Ganneau's set of figures is 11·912370, and in Dr. Long's 11·666 inches; whereas the Græco-Syrian foot was 11·67, or thereabouts.

If this last figure be taken, experimentally, as the unit by which the Stéla was cut, the height will be found to be one and a half measures of the thickness, and the length one and a half measures of the height—the ratios being those already given of 40, 60, and 90.

The following would then be the original size of the Stéla :—

Thickness,	1½	Greek feet, ¹	or	15·56	British inches.
Height	2	"	"	23·34	" "
Length	3	"	"	35·01	" "

These figures, it will be observed, are slightly more harmonious with those of Dr. Long than with those of M. Clermont Ganneau, to whom Dr. Long pays the tribute of being 'well known for his accuracy of detail.' The French savant, moreover, in a communication, dated 24th September, 1900, says, 'Since 1872, I have had occasion to take up these calculations again, and I should, perhaps, have some modification to introduce in the conclusions which (with reservation) I have limited myself to indicating.'

Hence the values of 39, 60 and 90 centimetres do not represent M. Clermont Ganneau's final or latest results. These I have not yet seen given to the world, though they may have been given.

¹ It is possible that this length was adopted as being the nearest ordinary fraction of the Greek foot to the ordinary Hebrew cubit of 14·4 ins. As the width of the two worshipping courts of the Temple are given (in *Middoth* v. § 1) as having been eleven cubits (including the partition), it is inevitable that the standing-place should have been ten cubits (= 12 ft.) and the division one cubit. The Stéla must thus have projected for rather more than an inch over the wall, which would be a very proper construction in a wall which had no roof but was open to the sky.

In the meantime, and until they are made public, Dr. Long's figures may be taken as containing the last actual measures in British standards. Placed side by side with the theoretical figures, they are as follows :

	<i>Ideal.</i> Inches.		<i>Actual.</i> Inches.		<i>Difference.</i> Inches.
Thickness	15'56	...	15 $\frac{5}{8}$	...	$\frac{1}{2}\frac{2}{5}$
Height	23'34	...	23 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ 0
Length	35'01	...	35	...	100

These minute fractions of an inch are all *minus* quantities, and in view of the state of dilapidation into which the Stéla has fallen, through rough usage and weathering, consequent upon its place in the Temple (where it had no cover), it is in favour of them that this is so. Some small attrition of its particles of 'soft' limestone was sure to have taken place in the course of its nineteen centuries of history, which loss may be taken to be represented by the differences above scheduled.

iv.

A further question, however, arises as to how the Greek standard of length found its way into, or was allowed to be, within the sacred precincts of the Temple. A glance at the Plan of Herod's Temple will serve to show that the *Soreg* itself stood for half its thickness within the sacred precincts of the Temple, and that the other half formed a portion of the Terrace or *Chel*, to which exactly one-fourth of the sanctuary was devoted. The *Soreg* stood upon or rather on either side of the 75-foot line, and therefore one half of it formed a portion of that part of the Temple into which, *when completed*, no foreigner might enter.

It is to be noted that, as in the case of Solomon's

Temple, a distinction was made between the dedication of the Temple proper and that of the courts about the Temple. In the former case a period of thirteen years intervened between the two dedications, the removal of the Ark into the Temple being the great event of the earlier one.

This took place at the Feast of Tabernacles, in the autumn, or seventh month of the year (1 Kings viii. 2). The dedication of the altar of Zerubbabel's Temple also took place in the seventh month of the year (Ezra iii. 1-6). Hence the laws of precedent would require that the dedication of the Temple and altar built by the priests at Herod's expense should have taken place at one of the great feasts of the year; either that of Tabernacles or of the Passover—which were held at a distance of six months apart.

But the celebration of the completion of 'the work about the Temple' (*Ant.* xv. 11 § 6) did not take place till between six and seven years after the opening of Herod's Temple and when the work was still far from finished. The choice of a day for this celebration was made to synchronize with that of Herod's accession to the crown—twenty-six years before.

Herod's actual reign began 38-37 B.C. The rebuilding of the Temple proper and *Naos* was begun in the eighteenth and completed in the twentieth year of his reign.

There was thus a period of several years intervening between the completion of the Temple and that of the courts. The former was the work of the priests. The latter that of Herod and his servants. Both were presumably begun at the same time. Hence, after the opening of the Temple, 'Herod laboured at the porti-

coes and the outer enclosures. These he built in eight years ' (*Ant.* xv. 11 § 5).

In the division of labour thus involved it would seem not only that the great cloister and the colonnades within the Treasury or Women's Court were constructed by the Greek measurement, under Herod's workmen, but that the *Soreg* itself was so constructed. It was, therefore, the work of a Gentile architect, and would not be effective as a protection against aliens or foreigners entering the outer Temple courts until after the Greek workmen had handed over the building to its legitimate occupants, and its dedication by them. The inscription bears traces of Hebrew linguistic peculiarities, and would be the work of the Jews themselves.

By this hypothesis it is hoped that not only will acceptance be gained for the unit of the Jerusalem Stéla having been the Greek foot, but also that, in the acceptance of this, some light will have been thrown upon the erection of the Temple itself as being partly of Greek and partly of Hebrew origin and construction.

CHAPTER XVI

AREA AND LEVELS OF THE TEMPLE

ANY attempt to give the size of the site upon which the Herodian Temple was built is to go to the root of the matter of its present-day reconstruction. When to this is added a further essay to give the different levels at which its various courts stood above the level of the sea, it will be seen that these subjects alone, in their architectural importance and in their topographical value, exceed any others with which we have hitherto dealt in this department of our theme. Fortunately for the subject of our studies there is in each of these cases a well-known and authorized *datum* from which calculations may be made, which, if they be correct, should carry with them, within limits, the assent of all unprejudiced minds.

In the case of the area the *datum* is the size given in Scripture to the two squares of which the court of the Mosaic Tabernacle consisted. Thirteen verses (8-20) of the thirty-eighth chapter of Exodus describe the area of these two courts, together with sundry particulars of their enclosing curtains, entrances, and standard pillars. These particulars have already been worked out in *The Tabernacle* volume,¹ and, with an eighteen-inch surveyor's cubit or land measure, give

¹ *The Tabernacle: Its History and Structure*. Second edition, 1906.

us a rectangular figure of 150 by 75 feet as the whole area enclosed by curtains.

When the portable Tabernacle gave place to a solid stone Temple, the figures of its holy chambers were duplicated, and instead of cubes of twelve feet they were made to consist of three cubes of twenty-four feet each. In like manner the area to be enclosed, not now within curtains, but within walls of cut stone, was twice the size of that of the Tabernacle, being a square figure of 150 feet every way.

There were other courts without those gates of plated brass which held this court in supreme sanctity, but these were not reckoned as being constituent parts of the Sanctuary of God, and had a lesser value, which put them outside the pale of interest when the second Temple in Jerusalem was built.

Hence it happened that when Zerubbabel and his compeers built the Temple after the return from captivity, they again doubled its area—as we shall presently see. It now became a rectangular oblong of 300 feet in length, with half that width. This had been the size of the Temple as enlarged by the Kings.¹ In this Temple Ezekiel, as a young man, had worshipped. When he drew plans for the future he accepted the old enlarged limits as those to be used in the new building, only giving to the whole area an equal sanctity, a quality which it did not before possess.

We now stand on the threshold of the time when the Herodian Temple had to be laid down, and it is from a consideration of its various measures that the above-given figures derive their validity, so that we are able

¹ See *Solomon's Temple*, 1908, pp. 297-319.

to say, with an approach to mathematical certainty, that its area was again double that of the Temple of Zerubbabel¹ and reached to an enclosed space of exactly 300 feet square.

It is this space, within which stood all the chambers, courts, porticoes, and steps of the third Temple, to which we now give our attention; knowing that if its measurements be authenticated they carry with them the evolution of all the earlier structures, and in their culmination fill up sundry vacancies in the earlier volumes of this series, which it was impossible to deal with until the *data* of the last of the series was before us.

While, however, this 300-feet measure is the determinative of the whole scheme of site-area here laid down, let it be said at the outset that the Jewish authorities nowhere explicitly give it in its entirety as an asset of our calculations. It is to be arrived at solely by a strict attention to their communications and by a complete understanding, not only of what they say, but also a comprehension of those bitter prejudices which underlay their recorded measurements and prevented them from telling us that 250 medium cubits or 200 large cubits was, in any sense, a measure of the Temple site. To have done so would have been to admit that the fourth of this space—which Herod secured for the accommodation of his non-Hebrew subjects—was a portion of the Temple ground. This they are unwilling to allow, and in their narrowness of feeling we have the key to their action in con-

¹ Josephus says (*Ant.* xv. 11, 1) that Herod made the Temple 'larger in compass' than it had been before; and (in *War* i. 21, 1) that he surrounded with a wall [literally, breasted up] 'double the land that was before enclosed around it.'

cealing or suppressing these figures (items 88-102).¹ We can, however, arrive at them by a process of addition of minor figures which will give us the desired result, and which, checked by a similar process across the area, will assure us of their correctness.

It is not necessary to assume that the Hebrew architects who planned the third Temple were acquainted with the old distinction which retained the large cubit of eighteen inches as a measure for the plotting of land; or, if acquainted with it, that they used it. The probability is the other way. In the Temple which they pulled down at the bidding of Herod the altar had been built by this large cubit.² Yet it was not used in its rebuilding, *Middoth* (iii. 1) remarking simply that 'when the children of the captivity came up they added to it four cubits on the south and four cubits on the west,' to account for and authorize their own increase of it from being a square of 18 feet to be one of 24 feet, given as 20 cubits (item 76). The medium cubit of $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet is thus the only one with which we have to do in these pages, a fact which will greatly simplify our conception of the thing as it was—five such cubits equalling six feet.

The Hebrew architects of Herod's time had before them the enclosed area of the second Temple, surrounded by walls of immense thickness. They had but to double this enclosed space by making the oblong into a square, and there was their site! The distances given by the Rabbis within this enclosure are always

¹ Throughout these chapters the 'items' referred to may be found in the first Appendix, where the textual references are given. Of the 150 items there specified all are cited in these pages.

² See *The Second Temple in Jerusalem*, 1908. Schedule of Specifications, items 21-34, pp. 367-8.

given in building or medium cubits. Wherever the Greek foot intruded itself, as it did in the Portico called Solomon's, there they omitted it from their calculations and measurements as an alien thing too unholy to form part of the Sanctuary of God. In the discussion of the Jerusalem Stéla we have seen that there is every reason for believing it and its twenty-three fellows to have been cut under the direction of Greek architects. Accordingly this foreign measure and all that lay to the east of the greater *Soreg*, of which it formed the standard, are punctiliously excluded from the maimed *Middoth* account of the Temple measurements as being outside of its range. Let us first see what their measures are and how far their records will lead us in reconstructing the Hebrew portion of the ground-plan of the third Temple before we deal with the Greek portion of the structure, already touched upon in Part I.

In the architectural description of Appendix I we have, in items 88-94, with their references, six section distances, officially taken, from east to west, through the axis of the altar and the Temple. These total 187 cubits or 224½ feet. This, in cubits, is given as being the measure of 'the whole court': meaning the length of the *Naos* and width of one part of the *Hieron* (*Middoth* v. 1). If, now, we take a parallel line with this one through the Women's Court and its chambers, we have the following figures:—

			cubits.
Item 104,	section through Treasury	.. ..	135
„ 105	„ Gazith chamber (inferred)		40
„ 108	„ 'a level space of'	..	10
			<hr/>
			185

The deficiency of 2 cubits here is, on the plan, made up by giving a small covered way of this width running between the two chambers. This is architecturally necessary as a mode of exit from the interior to the outer court. The same total of 185 cubits is arrived at if we take a parallel section line through the 15 broad steps, the particulars of which will read—counting from the east :—

Level space of	..	..	10 cubits
15 steps, each 5 cubits	..	..	75 „
Thickness of wall of Treasury	..		5 „
Section through Treasury opposite			
Entrance Gate	..	..	95 „
			<hr/>
Total			185 cubits ¹

To the 187 cubits thus obtained we have to add 63 others to arrive at the total of 250, which make up the 300 feet of which it is affirmed the 'Ir enclosure consisted.

Let us see how these may have been accounted for.

To width of Gentile half of the <i>Soreg</i>	..	$\frac{1}{2}$ cubit
To width of Jewish half of the <i>Soreg</i>	..	$\frac{1}{2}$ „
To steps and passage-way in <i>Chel</i>	..	10 cubits
To deduced width of Solomon's Portico	52	„
		<hr/>
Total		63 cubits

On the general coincidence of this with the totals of 10 cubits in items III-13, and 52 cubits in items 115-20, with the single cubit of the *Soreg*, it may be remarked that while the line of division between the

¹ The two extra cubits requisite in this line are given to the foot of the broad steps, and in a line still more to the south are added to the length of the lesser Sanhedrin hall.

Jewish and Gentile portions of the Temple is here supposed to lie outside of either portion, the true line of demarcation between the two ran down the centre of the *Soreg*, leaving one half of the partition to each nationality, and as 63 cubits equal $75\frac{3}{8}$ feet it will appear that the actual line of division was precisely on the 75-foot line of the architect's plan. In this exact way was cut off one-fourth of the 300-foot square for the use of the proselytes from other nations.

If now we take section measurements of this 300-foot square the other way, *i.e.* from north to south, a singular fact emerges. It is, that whereas the half of 250 cubits is 125 cubits, we have two statements giving us 135 cubits lengths in item 103 and items 95-102. But the items of these two measures were not continuous ones, and were not taken on the same line of axis. In each case 10 cubits are taken from the other half of the Enclosure in order to make up a requisite distance. It was to conceal this fact that, in item 102, *Middoth* withholds the actual figure, but says 'the remainder.' No doubt however can exist as to this remainder being 25 cubits, making up the 135. A glance at the Plan will show that in consequence of the form of construction here brought to light, neither the inner court or *Naos* containing the Temple proper, nor the outer court containing the Treasury and other buildings, was a four-sided rectangular figure, the minor measure in each case being 115 cubits—making up the 250. From this fact we learn as a matter of draughtsmanship that the length of each of the broad steps of the approach to the Treasury was 35 cubits, this being the width to spare, when all the others are located.

Having now provisionally ascertained the enclosed site of the Herodian Temple to have been a square of a hundred yards,¹ we may attempt the further question of its levels as they stood in the completed building. We at once put ourselves under the guidance of the Mishna, as *Middoth* tells us 'all the steps which were there were half a cubit high and the tread half a cubit, except those of the porch' (ii. 3), which, another section tells us, had a height of half a cubit and a breadth of a whole cubit (iii. 4). From this important generalization we must further except the noble approach to the Court of the Women or Treasury, which consisted not so much of 'steps' as of a succession of thresholds or landings. These were fifteen in number, and had a width of 6 feet and a length of 42 feet (item 107). It is architecturally correct to give to such ascents a very low gradient, and these had no more than a total rise in their whole extent of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits, or 3 feet. These then being outside the statement as to the height of the steps, we may proceed to investigate the bearing of the steps proper in determining the levels to which they led—this being the only way in which it can be done.

The *datum* from which we start is the lately ascertained height of the base of the Sakhrāh Stone above the Mediterranean. The pavement now around the Stone is 2440 feet above the sea. It is likely that this

¹ On this singular coincidence between the Hebrew and the British measures, I may say that if the foot be divided into tenths instead of into twelfths we shall have the Babylonian original from which both measures were derived. Three such tenths (= 3·6 ins.) give us the palm, of which three made the small or sacred cubit of the Jews, four the building cubit, and five the cubit by which areas were calculated. A common origin thus makes English measures of length commensurate with those of the Holy Land in biblical times.

is practically the ancient level: the argument being that the Stone rises some 5 feet above the marble pavement around it, while the platform of the altar, of which the Sakhrah formed a part, never rose above and never declined below a measure of 6 feet above the floor of the court in which it stood (item 78).

A visitor entering the great East Gate of the Herodian Temple would do so by ascending a single step above the level of the outside *Chel* or terrace. Such a step was necessary for purposes of drainage, as the Temple area being largely unroofed and the rainfall in Jerusalem equalling that in London, the drain which ran across the whole length of the Gentile Court, in the four-cubit passage-way of item 113, had its outlet at one of the great gates by which it was flanked, and demanded some such fall. It is also necessary in order to complete the symmetrical number of cubits—being tens or fractions of tens—by which the levels of the Temple area were determined. Ascending this threshold step, and crossing the great Portico named after Solomon, which is described as facing the gates of the Temple (*Ant.* xv. 11 § 3), he would ascend fourteen narrow steps in order to arrive at, and pass through, the *Soreg*, the two upper steps of which were built in its width. He would now stand on a level which was that of the two courts for men and for priests and on the upper and built-up face of the Sakhrah Stone. Here he would descend one of the flights of ten steps on either side of the great altar and find himself on the *datum* level with which we began these calculations, and from which the height of the Temple was reckoned. It may seem strange that the sacred shrine of so many generations of poets and saints

should be placed in a hollow and be surrounded by elevations rising slightly above it. Two considerations, however, are to be borne in mind. One, that the site of the altar was unalterable. The other, that two conduits brought water from a distance to the Temple courts for its many purgations, and that on this account also a moderately low level was requisite. Standing beside the twelve steps which led from the floor of the altar into the Temple itself, and which do not come into this account, the visitor found himself to be five steps, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits, above the ground level outside, and nearly as much above the floor of the great cloister of the proselytes—having ascended fifteen steps and descended ten.

Continuing his advance the visitor would now ascend the fifteen circular steps at gate numbered 12, which brought him to the highest floor within the courts of the Lord's house, it being 10 cubits, or 12 feet, above the level of the ground outside, and 9 feet above the *datum* about the altar (item 135).

Two modes of exit were now open to him from the Treasury Court in which he stood. By descending the broad way of the fifteen thresholds he would lose $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits in height. The fourteen steps of the *Soreg*, added to the single step of the entrance, would now bring him to the level of the outer *Chel* from which he had started.

Should he, on the other hand, elect to leave the Treasury Court by its southern gate (No. 1), which was the usual place of departure for men, he would find only the ten steps of item 136. By them he would descend 5 cubits, and find himself on that raised bank of sloping earth which is mentioned by one of the

evangelists (John xix. 13). It lay without the Enclosure of the Temple walls, and it was on this slightly raised pavement that Pilate placed his judgment seat, and here he pronounced, amid shouts of execration, the condemnation of Jesus.¹

¹ In 1903 the Rev. Henry Evans, D.D., wrote:—‘Gabbatha was a raised stone pavement or platform fronting the Temple courts, from which Pilate delivered up Jesus to be crucified. Its stones are said to be in the cellars of the Convent of the Sisters of Zion.’—*Biblical Antiquities*, p. 253, of the *Bible Readers’ Manual*. Collins and Co.

CHAPTER XVII

THE THIRTEEN GATES OF THE ENCLOSURE

A GATE presupposes a wall in which it stands and of which it forms, practically, a part. The Enclosure wall in which most of the thirteen gates of the Temple stood was one of extraordinary strength. Josephus says that it was 8 cubits in thickness= $9\frac{3}{5}$ feet (item 150). This is an instance of the Hebrew objection to use any fraction of the cubit in building temples, as the measure of $7\frac{1}{2}$ cubits would have given them 9 feet, which was the through dimension of that of the second Temple wall, which was 6 cubits of $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet each.¹

We have in the Jewish historian's pages a narrative of the burning of the Temple and of some of its concomitants which throws a strong and lurid light upon the general tragedy that took place there—at the same time that it illustrates the position of the buildings and of this outer wall in particular, as shown on the Temple plan. It there appears that the wall of the Enclosure stood 11 cubits behind the west gable of the Temple (item 94). A partial breach in the Enclosure² was made at the northern, or No. 5, gate, some stones of which being removed in the attack make intelligible a story of heroism which Josephus

¹ See item 1 in schedule of specifications given on p. 365 of *The Second Temple in Jerusalem*, 1908. Comp. *War* vi. 5 § 1.

² Called by Josephus 'the first wall,' *i.e.* the outer wall of the defence. *War* vi. 2 § 7.

narrates. When the gates of the Enclosure had been set fire to, and the crisis of battle had come, some of the priests of the Temple mounted its roof and there pelted the assailants with the spikes that were on its ridge (item 14). These they tore from their leaded sockets and hurled at the Romans. The Temple itself was not yet ablaze, but the great heat from the collection of rooms on its northern side, as they burned, compelled these men to leave the Sanctuary roof. Josephus, almost certainly an eye witness, says, "They then retired to the wall,¹ which was eight cubits broad, and there they stayed." Two of them, whom he names, threw themselves into the burning pile, and so perished nobly. Others maintained themselves on the Enclosure wall for four days, having, by an artifice, secured a little water. On the fifth day of their imprisonment hunger compelled them to capitulate. By this time the Temple itself had been destroyed, and in ordering these suppliants for mercy to execution, Titus drily remarked that it was fitting that priests should perish with the Temple in which they had served. The whole account of this incident (*War* vi. 5 § 1 and vi. 6 § 1) becomes clear when we have before us the topography of the Temple and its immediate surroundings. Till then the whole story of the siege is a confused blur of words, for which Josephus is not to be blamed; maps, plans, and diagrams being necessary to the understanding of any, even the most lucid history of battle, siege, and sudden death.

The thirteen gates in the walls about the Temple were not all in its outer line of defence—formerly known

¹ The passage from one to the other may have been effected by the use of the ladder which a later page tells us was available at this point.

as the 'Ir, but in these pages as the Enclosure—nor were they all of one size. If we, first, take those in the circumvallation, all of which had a height of 24 feet (items 121-3), corresponding with that of the wall in which they stood, we shall find that here, as elsewhere, our information is tainted by that spirit of pharisaic bigotry which dominates the writings of the Rabbis of this time. From this spirit Josephus is free, his larger intercourse with Roman officers and gentlemen having liberated his mind, as it did that of Paul, from much Jewish exclusiveness. He has his own faults as an historian, but they were not those of racial pride and intellectual arrogance.

He gives us two estimates, or rather records, of the number of gates in the northern and southern walls of the Enclosure. These differ, but there is no discrepancy in his account, as he is careful in each case to tell us within what limits the gates stood to which he refers. We take, first, that passage in his *Antiquities* (xv. 11 § 5) in which, after referring to the whole area of the porticoes, including that known as Solomon's, which he calls the first enclosure (*i.e.* the whole sacred area of the Temple Enclosure), he tells us that in the midst of it and not far from it (*i.e.* not wholly separate and not apart, as might be supposed) was a second enclosure to be ascended to by a few steps (*i.e.* those fourteen in number), which enclosure was protected from the entrance of aliens by a stone wall bearing inscriptions (*i.e.* that of the Warning Stone of the *Soreg*).

He adds :—

' This inner enclosure [namely, that within the *Soreg*] had on its south and north sides three gates [*i.e.* three to each side] equidistant from

one another, and, in addition, on the east, toward the sun-rising, was one large gate [*i.e.* one larger than the others].'

There can be no uncertainty here as there is no obscurity. The six gates spoken of lay to the west of the *Soreg*, and were placed at equal distances from one another, that distance being 60 cubits, or 75 feet. They are so drawn on the plan, and present a picture of symmetrical beauty in such a protective walling for the Temple as the Enclosure was intended to be.

When Josephus wrote his *War*, twenty years before the *Antiquities*, he found it necessary to give a fuller account of the Temple and its surroundings than he did after it was destroyed, the reason for the earlier amplification being that the strife raged most furiously around and about the Temple, and all its elements had to be recognized. That was the Badajos of the campaign, and when the Temple fell the rest was easy. To prepare the way for the more easy apprehension of his war narrative he tells us more in his fifth book about the topography of the Temple than he afterwards did. Here again he speaks of the whole area included within the six furlongs of porticoes as 'a space exposed to the air [*i.e.* with one side of each portico open] and laid with stones of various sorts.' Belonging to this space we must reckon, as he did, that open cloister known as Solomon's Portico.¹ This, in the mind of every Jew, had of necessity a lower sanctity than the part of the Temple to which Jews alone might find entrance. And from the language of Josephus in both of his treatises we learn that its degree of sanctity

¹ It was so called by Herod because it stood largely on the site on which Solomon's porches had stood. See the ground plan of these in the diagram of *Solomon's Temple*.

was no higher than that of the ground without the walls of the Enclosure. This variation in value was held as a fundamental truth by every Hebrew of the time, as it embodied in visible form that racial distinction in which he and his differed from every other person under the sun. A Jew never forgot, he never could forget, that he was a son of Abraham, and that others were not.

Even the liberalizing process through which Josephus had passed could not free him from this essential mark of the Jew, and as an historian he had but to record what he knew—whether he approved of it or not. Hence we read:—

‘ When you went through this space [*i.e.* Solomon’s Portico] to the second Temple there was a partition of stone whose height was three cubits, of very elegant construction. . . . The second Temple was called the holy place, and had an ascent of fourteen steps from the first Temple. . . . These steps led to the gates, which gates on the north and south sides were eight—on each of these sides four.’ (*War* v. 5 § 2.)

The harmonizing fact between these two accounts is that the ‘ gates equidistant from one another ’ were three on each of two sides, north and south, of the Enclosure, which gates are numbered 1 to 6 on the accompanying Plan; but that two extra gates were built in the 75 feet of walling space which lay to the east of these six gates; these being numbered 8 and 9, and might be, or might not be, reckoned as coming within the category of those belonging to the true Temple. No worshipping Jew ever entered them.

Hucksters, cattle and sheep did so, as well as Gentile converts to Judaism.

If we now turn from Josephus to the Mishna for what it says on the subject of these principal gates of the Enclosure we shall find the same distinction as we have seen in Josephus. There are in *Middoth* two accounts of these gates, both mentioning the Nicanor Gate, one of which gives the total number as seven, and the other of which gives it as nine—not including the four wickets of the catalogue. It may be of interest to put these two lists side by side, as each of them gives the name by which every gate was known, or for which it was used, and we are thus inducted into some of the mysteries of the ancient Temple worship.

I.

There were seven gates in the court, three on the north, three on the south, and one on the east.

- i. On the south were—
 1. The Gate of Burning, or of Kindling Wood.
 2. The Gate of the First-born.
 3. The Water Gate.
- ii. That on the east was—
 1. The Gate of Nicanor.
- iii. On the north were—
 1. The Gate Nitsutz.
 2. The Gate of Offering.
 3. The Beth Moked.

Middoth i. 4, 5.

II.

There were thirteen gates—

- i. The southern were (beginning on the west)—
 1. The Upper Gate.
 2. The Gate of Burning.
 3. The Gate of the First-born.
 4. The Water Gate.
- ii. Opposite to them, on the north, were (beginning on the west)—
 1. The Gate of Jeconiah.
 2. The Gate of Offering.
 3. The Gate of the Women.
 4. The Gate of the Soreg.
- iii. That on the east was—
 1. { The Gate of Nicanor,
 2. } and it had two wickets,
 3. } one on its right and the other on its left.
 4. { The two wicket gates on
 5. } the west had no name.

Middoth ii. 6.

There are many evidences in the tractate from which these extracts are taken that the men who composed it were men of extreme age, their memories failing them again and again in small points such as the order of the steps before the Temple porch, the inclusion or non-inclusion of the combing on the ridge of the Temple in its hundred cubits of height. We have another instance of their inexactitude in the first list of names given to the seven principal gates of the Enclosure, in which the order of the names in the third part as compared with that in ii. of the second list is inverted. It will, perhaps, be well to take the gates in the order of their numbering on the Plan and say a few words on each. We begin with the south line.

No. 1. 'The Upper Gate.' This was the historical name for this entrance. The gate that stood here in the second Temple had been built by Jotham in the eighth century B.C., and is mentioned under this name by Jeremiah in the next century (Jer. xxxvi. 10). Its sill, then as now, was higher than that of any other gate of the Enclosure. Hence its name, and hence our ease in identifying it.

Another name for it was 'The Gate of Burning,' though the Rabbis give it a separate number. This was the gate through which the wood for the altar fires was carried. In Column I of the *Middoth* extracts it is given as the first of the three recognized gates of the Temple Enclosure toward the west—which indeed it was. A consultation of the Temple Plan will show that this was the natural entrance for those voluntary burden-bearers who carried loads for the woodhouse near the altar. It was, as a consequence, the same as

the Upper Gate and is not entitled to a number as if it were a separate entrance.

No. 2. 'The Gate of the Firstborn.' This gate led into the archive chamber of the Temple, where all genealogies and records were kept. Here was entered the pedigree of each noble family, and here, doubtless, the infant Jesus was written down as a son of David. By the Mosaic law the firstborn of each cow and ewe belonged to the Temple, and the entry of its gift in value was made here, as also a record of all vows made.

No. 3. 'The Water Gate.' It was through or near this gate that the overflow drainage of the Temple found an outlet, attention having already been called to the drain which ran across the area at the foot of the *Soreg* steps, and which emptied itself into the Kidron drain from this point.

Of the gates in the north wall the order differs in Columns I. and II., and those mentioned in iii. of the former column are to be read in the reverse order to that in which they are given.

No. 4. 'The Gate of Jeconiah' and the House Moked were one and the same. The former name was given in memory of an historical event which no Jew could forget, as out of it the last independent Hebrew King passed when he went into captivity. The other name was modern, meaning the house of stoves, because in it the priests, who served barefoot in the Temple,¹ went and warmed themselves at its charcoal fires. It was, in fact, a kind of priestly ante-

¹ Compare Exodus iii. 5, 'Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.' Shoes or sandals, when made of leather, interposed parts of a dead animal between the worshipper and the ground, and thus defiled it. This rule is universally observed in the East.

room to the Temple, and served many purposes. (*Middoth* i. 5-9.)

No. 5. 'The Gate of Offering.' Outside of the gate corresponding to this one in the second Temple had stood the slaughtering house. All living sacrifices in each of the three Temples entered here or hereabouts, a fact which sufficiently explains its name.

No. 6. To this gate several names are appended. It was called 'The Gate of the *Soreg*' because one end of the partition ended at its centre. It was called 'The Gate of the Women' because those female worshippers who had visited the Court of the Women were not allowed to go out by the usual place of exit for men (the civil law court sitting outside the exit), but were compelled to leave the Temple by the eastern half of this gate, or of its corresponding one opposite, *i.e.* that portion below the *Soreg*, the other half of the gate being reserved to the Levites, who came and went on their duty as singers in the Temple choir. They trod the threshold of its western half, hence called 'The Gate of Song.' The whole bore the official name, 'The Gate Nitsutz,' *i.e.* sparkling.

We have now gone over the principal names given in the two lists of the Jewish tractate and find that the distinction in number and in names of gates between its first and its second chapters is a purely fictitious one. To avoid the mention of the two Gentile gates and yet to preserve something like verisimilitude, eight gates are named, but in two cases alternative names are given to the same gate, and but six gates are referred to. Could the force of theological prejudice go further? This lapse from candour cannot be put down to failure of memory. It is too cunningly

done, and it remains a standing memorial of that pride of race which, even in their defeat and fall, characterized the Jew of the first century, and which afterwards led to the destruction both of his nation and his Temple.

Meanwhile the large gates at the end of the great cloister, known as the Portico of Solomon, remain without names; but of the fact of their existence there is no doubt, as both Josephus and the Rabbis agree that there was a fourth gate on each of these two sides of the Temple Enclosure, and the latter of the two authorities in saying that there were eight gates on the north and south testifies to their size in the words, 'All the gateways and gates which were there were 20 cubits high and 10 cubits broad' (*Middoth* ii. 6). On the Plan they are given as numbers 8 and 9.

These eight gates together with their side posts and lintels, and another to be described in the next chapter, are said to have been covered on both sides with gold and silver, the precious metal for which was contributed by Alexander, father of the Roman Emperor Tiberius. It is possible that the inner side of each gate was gilded, though Josephus speaks of 'plates of gold'; and the outer side covered with thin plates of silver in order to secure it from being burnt by an enemy; a futile precaution, as Josephus saw the silver melting on the storming of the Enclosure and the burning of its gates (*War* v. 5 § 3 and vi. 4 § 2). But he also says that, on the fall of the Temple, spoil was so abundant that gold fell to half its former value (*War* vi. 6 § 1).

No. 7. The artistic and architectural glory of the Herodian Temple was its seventh gate, which gave entrance to all, save priests, Levites, and Gentiles,

who entered the Temple. This gate was, as the others were, a wooden structure with bars let into the walling on either side, but it was also a *chef d'œuvre*, wrought in Corinthian brass, the amalgam consisting of copper and silver, instead of copper and one-tenth tin, as was common in ancient bronzes. It was of Alexandrian origin, and the weight of each of its two leaves was such that though running upon iron bars—roller wheels were unknown—it took ten men to swing it to and fro at opening and closing. There can be no reasonable doubt that this portal of Corinthian brass, described by Josephus as being 'outside the sanctuary,' *i.e.* lying without the *Soreg*, was the Nicanor Gate of the Rabbis, and the Gate Beautiful of the Book of Acts (items 124-9). It was almost the only true work of plastic art in the Temple, and as such had a pre-eminent reputation.¹

Nos. 10 and 11 were wicket-gates lying behind the Temple (item 130), *Middoth* ii. 6 telling us that they had no name. In this connection it is noticeable that, when speaking of the Women's Court, Josephus says, 'The western side of this court had no wall at all, but the wall was built entire on that side' (*War* v. 5 § 2). It is so shown on the Plan.

No. 12. 'The Gate Abtinās.' Two gates alone seem to have stood within the stone enclosure. These interior gates are not mentioned in *Middoth*, their place in the foregoing list (II) being taken by the two wickets of the Nicanor Gate. But the first paragraph of the tractate *Middoth* may assist us in determining the position of one of them. It states that at five of

¹ The references to this gate in Josephus are—*War* ii. 17 § 3; v. 5 § 3; vi. 5 § 3. For its dimensions, see items 124-6. Compare 'Note' at end of chapter.

the gates which led into the Temple Levites kept watch, and the priests kept watch in the following gates :—

1. In the House Abtinas.
2. In the House Nitsutz.
3. In the House Moked.

Here is one superfluous watch, as we know that to them there were but seven principal gates (*i.e.* those above, numbered 1 to 7 inclusive). The gate named the 'House of Abtinas' is the surplus one here, and from the fact that it was one of the three in which the priests kept guard, we may conclude that it opened on to the Priests' Court, and was near the Temple, as were Nitsutz and Moked. Between these two was the Gate of Offering, or the slaughter-house of the Temple, which was one of the five exterior gates left in charge of the Levites.

The House of Abtinas (items 131-2) stood below the fifteen steps which led from the Court of the Women to the *Naos* area on which the Temple stood (*Middoth* ii § 5). These steps are described as having been, not rectangular, but circular, 'like the half of a threshing-floor,' and on them the Temple choir of Levites sang. By them all the sacrificial meats were carried from the altar, and, in the passage behind the Temple, to the feasting colonnades. There is abundant evidence, in the account of the civil struggles that preceded the war with Rome, that a wall ran between these two courts—which divided the combatants in each of them from one another. This wall and these steps involve a gate, which in all likelihood adjoined the House of Abtinas : the house itself being a continuation and superstructure of the little portico with which each of

the principal gates was furnished on its inner side. We have seen that the south gate in the Women's Court was the 'Upper Gate' of egress from the Temple to all male worshippers. The north gate of the same court, opposite to it, is the one allocated as being the Gate of the House of Abtinias.

This view receives some countenance from the personal name associated with this gate. Edersheim states that Abtinias was the name of a family in which the occult mode of preparing the Temple incense had been preserved (*The Temple*, p. 134). However this may be, we know that incense was burned twice daily in the Temple, and that when compounded according to the directions of Exodus xxx. 34-8, it was deemed to be 'most holy.' While holy things could be carried into the outer court of the Temple, the most holy were not allowed to leave the Court of the Priests, or the immediate vicinity of the Temple. This fact is, therefore, in favour of seeking the house of the maker of incense within this court. The south side of the Temple, being otherwise unoccupied, was its most probable position. We infer that the lodge, or chamber, in which the spices for the incense were kept, and in which the incense itself was beaten, stood above the little porch of gate No. 12.

The chamber itself is not shown on the Plan, as, like its fellows at No. 4 and No. 6, it was raised above the floor of the court, and stood above the porch or gate-house.¹

No. 13. That thirteen was the number of the gates in the Enclosure of the Temple further appears from the stations at which watch was kept by night in the

¹ Each of them was 'a kind of *exhedra* with an upper room built over it, in which the priests watched by night, the Levites being below.'

house of the Lord. The distribution of the Temple guards is given in the opening paragraph of *Middoth*. It states that the priests kept watch at the three gates whose names are given above : of which we have seen that two were outer gates in the north wall, and one an interior gate to the south of the Temple. For the rest, it states that five Levites guarded the five gates leading into the Temple, thus completing the guardianship of the seven principal gates—the two principal entrances of the Temple having a double guard of both priests and Levites.

The record adds to this the statement that other five Levites watched at the five gates of the court. Two of these must have been stationed at the entrances for Gentiles, two at the western posterns behind the Temple, and one remains unappropriated. Is it possible to define his position ? History will be our best guide here. Describing the 'second Temple' (*War* v. 5 § 2), which corresponds with the Women's Court in *Middoth* (ii. § 5) and 'the Treasury' of John viii. 20, Josephus tells us that the women had their own gate¹ (item 133), which when they had passed they were not allowed to pass through the other gates, nor go beyond their own wall of partition, in which it stood. The ascent to this gate was by fifteen steps, each of five cubits broad. It was up these steps and through this gate that the woman taken in adultery was led when brought to Jesus as He taught in the Temple (John viii. 2). An expression used by Josephus (*War* v. 5 § 2), descriptive of the position of this

¹ The Puritan student of these things is right in saying 'the entering in to the Court of the Women was by three gates—one to the east, one on the north, and one on the south.'—Lightfoot's *Prospect of the Temple*, chap. xviii. § 9.

gate, must not be understood in its severe literalness,¹ though it is, in a general sense, exactly true. It is that the Women's Gate 'was cut opposite the first gate,' *i.e.* the gate of first entrance, or Nicanor. These two gates were not only on slightly different levels, but one was some fifty yards to the south of the other. Their relative positions may be seen by a reference to the Plan, and it will be agreed that it is not an unfair or unusual thing to have popularly described gate No. 13 as having been 'opposite' to gate No. 7. Each was the east gate of its court, and is spoken of by Josephus as a 'necessity' of the case, every worshipper being compelled to turn away from the rising sun on entering the Temple.²

The coincidence of numbers between the thirteen lengths of masonry in the *Soreg*, shown in chapter XXIII., and the gates of the Temple Enclosure did not escape the notice of the Rabbis, and is referred to in *Middoth* ii. 6 as a reminiscence of Rabban Jose ben Khanan. The ancient Hebrews were, further, not unlikely to see in this figure an analogy to the tribes of Israel, the tribe of Levi forming the thirteenth.

NOTES

I. THE BEAUTIFUL GATE OF THE TEMPLE

Our conceptions of this masterpiece of art in the Temple are to be dominated by the fact that the wall in which it stood was part of a great defensive work. It would have been an act of criminal folly to have built walls of nine or ten feet in thickness to protect the

¹ ἀντικρὺ κατὰ μέσσον, *Iliad* 16, 285, may perhaps be cited as a classical precedent. It seems to indicate that ἀντικρὺ might not necessarily imply κατὰ μέσσον.

² Compare *The Second Temple in Jerusalem*, 1908, pp. 354-5.

Temple from the intrusions of an enemy, and then to have left one of its gates so weak that it could easily be broken through. As a matter of fact, this gate was one of the strongest of the nine which stood in the Enclosure wall, the breach being made elsewhere. After the Temple was burnt, the Roman army brought their standards to a spot opposite this still standing gate, and there offered sacrifices to them amid a scene of riotous camp festival.

There are in Southern Italy many examples of bronze gates standing before cathedrals and churches, all of which are Byzantine work of the tenth and twelfth centuries, and may be the artistic continuation of those of the earlier centuries of Alexandrian work. These gates are of three kinds. Some of the smaller ones are cast in whole pieces. Others consist of bronze plates with a backing of timber, the plates themselves being repoussé work, *i.e.* highly embossed and elaborately hand-wrought. Those of the Cathedral of Ravello, near Amalfi, consist of bronze panels resting on timber, showing designs of Scripture subjects, the panels being divided by arabesque designs of delicate tracery with rosettes in high relief at the corners.

In a third class of bronze gates with wooden backing, the metal plates are very much thicker, so as to admit of grooves being cut in them. Into these grooves, which sometimes take the form of inscriptions, molten silver was run. The effect is very fine. Owing to the great weight of the Temple gates, as recorded by Josephus, together with the fact that the Jews did not make the likeness of anything in heaven or on earth as decorations to their Temple, we are inclined to think that this was the motive of the Nicanor Gate—the

subjects of ornamentation being geometric figures, chevrons, and the like.

2. THE WOMEN'S GATES OF EXIT

Having mentioned the principal gates of the Enclosure, Josephus labours to make plain the structural conditions applicable to women worshippers in the Temple. This he does in *War* v. 5 § 2, the latter part of which paragraph states the case for the restraints put upon them. In doing this he speaks of 'one south and one north gate, through which was a passage into the Court of the Women,' and says they were 'on the other sides' of the Temple from the east, that is on the north and south. Gates No. 3 and No. 6 are meant, and if their position with regard to the *Soreg* be looked at, it will be seen that each of its two ends cuts these gates in twain, one leaf of each gate giving access to the Temple—as understood by the Jews—and one not doing so. In each case it was the more easterly of these leaves that gave exit to the women as they left the Temple. *Middoth* ii. 6 illustrates and confirms this usage by giving to No. 6 gate two names: the Gate of the Women and of Music.

No doubt can exist as to the reason for the restriction. No. 1, the ordinary gate of exit from the Women's Court, opened at Gabbatha, and was the Gate of Justice for Israel. The passing of women at such times would have been a grave inconvenience. They were therefore forbidden to use this gate, and men only might do so.

No. 6 gate, having two names, is to be understood of the fact that by one of its leaves the Levitical choristers entered or left, and by the other leaf the women departed—as they also did by the corresponding exit on the opposite side.

CHAPTER XVIII

TWO ANCIENT GATES ON MORIAH

IN the immediately preceding chapter the fact is noted that a gate, said by Josephus to have been larger than any other and to have been more lavishly adorned (*War* v. 5 § 3), was not there identified and described.

He does not say that it was one of the thirteen gates of the Enclosure, but rather the opposite. We cannot confound it with the Nicanor Gate, as that was of Corinthian brass and did not admit of being overlaid with plates of bullion. Moreover, the beauty of this gate was such that some are said to have believed that its leaves of brass glittered like gold because a miracle had given to them a brightness above that of earth (*Middoth* ii. 3).

This unknown gate, and not Nicanor, was the ninth gate which participated in the gift of the noble Roman. Eight have already been accounted for, being those on either side of the Enclosure. Beside this one, now to be discussed, there were no others which shared his bounty.

Its situation is indicated in the pregnant words :—

‘ The gate beyond the Corinthian Gate—which gate opened on the east, opposite the Gate of the Sanctuary—was much larger, for its height was

fifty cubits and its doors forty cubits, and it was adorned in a more costly manner, having much richer and thicker plates of silver and gold than the others.'

This was not, therefore, one of the gates of the Temple Enclosure, and is to be looked for in the outer wall which encircled, as a crown, the Temple hill, and in that part of it which overhung the Valley of the Kidron. Its situation being beyond that of the Corinthian Gate, it is further described as an opening on the east (*i.e.* the extreme of the site is to be understood), and as standing opposite to another Gate named by Josephus 'The Gate of the Sanctuary,' this being the second of the two which form the subject of this chapter.

From time immemorial there had stood a gate or gates where now stands the well-known Golden Gate of Jerusalem. Its history goes back to the revolution that took place in the regency of Jehoiada and the death of Athaliah in 853 B.C. It was then known as the 'Gate *Tsur*' (2 Kings xi. 6) or as the Gate *Yesod* (2 Chron. xxiii. 5), both names having similar meanings.¹

But the geological facts of the case carry the history of this gate further back than the middle of the ninth century B.C. The wall in which the Golden Gate stands, rests, for its whole length, upon the living rock lying below, without any intervention of earth or soil. At one particular point in the length of this eastern wall there is a rocky projection or spur from the main ridge of Moriah (of which the Sakhras rock is the index), which horn of rock in the line of walling is some thirty

¹ See *Solomon's Temple*, 2nd Edition, 1908, pp. 109-10.

feet below the present surface of the soil. North and south of this spur the depth of the soil above the rock is much greater than this. Here then, alone, was it possible to build a substructure and superstructure of great weight with the least expenditure of time and money. Accordingly it was so done, though the site was some seventy or eighty yards further to the north than was ideally desirable. The most coveted site, of course, was one lying due east of the Altar of Sacrifice, and one in line with the Temple and the great East Gate. But to build here was not practicable, and the sacrifice of uniformity of aspect was made, with the result that we have before us in the situation of the Golden Gate the site originally adopted.

This argument, however, carries with it other results than these. One is, to date back the creation of the famous east wall of the Temple hill to the time of the Kings, as it is unlikely that the lie of the rock and the projecting spur toward the Kidron should have been discovered in any other way than by digging a trench for a foundation the whole length of the wall. The name, ‘Gate of the Foundation’ (2 Chron. xxiii. 5), would thus acquire a new and fuller significance than is usually given to it. It also has its bearing upon the age of all the Haram walls, a vexed question upon which it is not necessary here to enter.

It is when we turn our faces down the stream of Time that we again meet with indubitable tokens of the existence, in post-Babylonian times, of the gate which then stood here. Ezekiel—whose prophetic period is 593–570 B.C.¹—in his forty-third chapter,

¹ Murray’s *Illustrated Bible Dictionary*, Chronology O.T., Period of the Prophets, p. 162.

speaks of two East Gates to the Temple, in one of which he stood, while in the other 'the glory of the Lord,' *i.e.* the Shechinah cloud, came from the way of the east and entered the house by the way of the gate whose prospect is toward the east.

After further examination of the subject, let me repeat the conclusion formerly arrived at, that 'the gate having its prospect toward the east' was rightly named, inasmuch as it was that one which then stood in line with the axis of the altar and the Temple; while the one from which Ezekiel saw the vision was a gate on the foundation of the Tsur Gate, and is, with equal topographical accuracy, described as 'the gate that looked toward the east.' It is evident that two gates are meant, as Ezekiel expressly disclaims having stood in the gate through which the cloud that shone on the earth passed, in its way to the inner sanctuary.¹ The gate that 'looked' is further detailed by him as being 'the outer gate of the sanctuary' (Ezek. xliv. 1); the whole tendency of this part of his writings is to extend the area of the Temple's holiness so as to include every part of the square of 500 cubits which surrounded it. This area included the site of the gate standing where the Golden Gate now stands, as is shown in the frontispiece to *The Second Temple in Jerusalem*, in which volume is a chapter devoted to the consideration of the Temple terrace or bulwark dealing with this whole area.

Possible misconceptions may still arise from the fact that Ezekiel describes himself as having been brought back (*i.e.* to the east gate of the Temple, or

¹ For the references to 'prospect' Gate, see Ezek. xlii. 15; xliii. 4; xliv. 1; and to the gate that 'looked,' Ezek. xliii. 1; xliv. 1.

Prospect Gate) by the way of 'the outer gate of the sanctuary' (*i.e.* the gate which looked toward the east), which gate (*i.e.* the Prospect Gate) on his arrival he found shut. Misunderstanding of the first verse of Ezekiel's forty-fourth chapter is the more likely from the fact of the Golden Gate having now been closed for centuries. The textual reference, however, as to the shut gate is not to it or its predecessor, and the command that the gate should not be opened did not apply to it, but to the Temple Gate through which the Lord, the God of Israel, had entered when He returned to His forsaken sanctuary. This was the reason for its not being put to any other use. The Hebrew text is here succinct to the point of obscurity, but such is its topographical sense.

Following the indications given by Josephus, we have now had the evidence of Kings, Chronicles, and Ezekiel as to the fact of there having been or to be a large gate, materially unconnected with the Temple, overlooking the Kidron Valley and in the north and south line of the eastern wall of the Haram area. Let us now turn to *Middoth*, from whose crabbed and cryptic sentences we may possibly glean some particulars both as to its former appearance and its later uses during the standing of the Herodian Temple.

Ezekiel's writings give us no assurance that this gate was rebuilt in his time. He died before the Restoration, but centuries after it had taken place a rabbinical statement in *Middoth* (i. 3) in a catalogue of the five outermost gates of the mountain of the House says, 'Upon the Eastern Gate, Sushan the palace was portrayed, and by it the High Priest who burned the heifer, and the heifer and all his assistants, went out

to the Mount of Olives.' Both here and in ii. 4 the reference is to the occasional sacrifice of a red heifer 'without the camp' for a specific purpose, described in the nineteenth chapter of the Book of Numbers.¹ This is the final instruction of the whole sacrificial system of Moses, and is the only sacrifice referred to in the last chapter of the Book of Hebrews (xiii. 11). It thus had a profound significance, a significance not unseen by the priests of Judaism or by the writers of the New Testament.

The portrayed representation of the city Shushan, either in gratitude or by order of the Persian King at the time of the restoration from captivity, upon this gate was possibly that of a panel in one of its interior arcades, which would preserve it from decay. The gate itself may have stood from the time of its erection in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah to the final fall of the city, as no convulsion of war occurred at the time of the removal of the second Temple. Its mention by the Rabbis after the destruction of the last Temple is in favour of this contingency.

In that noble work, the *Survey of Western Palestine*, the fabric of the Golden Gate is said to be of Roman origin, but the gate itself to stand upon foundations of unknown antiquity. This being so, it is inevitable that the size of the more modern structure should approximately correspond to that of the ancient, the sub-structure being the same for both—smaller it may be, but not larger.

Josephus gives the width of the gate in his time as

¹ The statement of *Middoth* that a priest standing on Olivet was able to see into the Temple at the time of sprinkling the sacrificial blood on the top of the mount involves his being at the time directly opposite to the Temple itself. It was at this point, or in its neighbourhood, that the ascension of Jesus took place.

being 40 cubits, or 48 feet, its height being a negligible quantity, and its length not being given (*War* v. 5 § 3). The present building has an interior breadth of 35 feet, with walls of 11 feet in thickness on each side. It is divided by two columns into a double arcade.¹ These measures can be no test of those of Josephus, as the whole floor of the foundation is possibly not covered by the existing structure. In one particular alone is it of use, that is, in telling us that the ancient, like the modern, gate consisted of two arcades, for so only can the 40 cubits of Josephus have been disposed of.

A road to any gate and from it is indispensable, or rather inevitable. No one ever built a gate—not an open triumphal arch—who did not do so in order to direct and ease the traffic to and through it. The Golden Gate now stands a shrunken and lonely monument of departed traffic and of a city's greatness. It was not always so. 'Opposite to it'—the words are those of Josephus—'was the Gate of the Sanctuary' (*War* v. 5 § 3). As the whole breadth of the Kidron Valley lay immediately below the Shushan Gate, to its east, and was then, as it is now, impassable except to foot passengers, 'the Sanctuary Gate' could have stood only to the west, that is, on the other side of the present Haram area. No such gate has been as yet discovered, and no proper attempts to seek its traces have been made. On a late visit to the site I looked in vain for any indications of a gate having stood there. This negative statement is not so damaging as might at first appear. I had no authority to make any other than the most cursory examination, and the one man who could have

¹ Catherwood, in Bartlett's *Walks about Jerusalem*, p. 159.

helped in settling the question, Dr. Schlick, was then dead. I found that the wall at that particular point on the inner side had been levelled nearly to the ground, and on its outer side it was covered with a mass of native shanties which forbade inquiry. Any gate standing where I have supposed the Sanctuary Gate to have stood may have had either a lower or a higher level than the Golden Gate, as they were at least a thousand feet apart. All traces of the gate, even its sill, may thus have been removed. But the likelihood is that a thorough excavation and exploration of the site would add another to the four gates—named Robinson, Barclay, Wilson, and Warren—already found on that side.

On the matter of this supposititious gate *Middoth* is silent, but not so the Scripture. It is mentioned in both Testaments; Nehemiah twice mentioning it as the Sheep Gate (iii. 1; xii. 39); once as the point at which the northern section of repairers of the wall began their work, and again as a point over which the dedicators of the wall passed on their way to the Gate of the Guard, behind the Temple, where they descended to the ground. It was, thus, on a site near to, and north-west of, the Enclosure of the Temple, a neighbourhood in which we may place the structure the Apostle John had in mind when he wrote, 'Now there is in Jerusalem by the sheep gate a pool, which is called in Hebrew Bethesda' (John v. 2).

In order to place ourselves *en rapport* with the religious views and customs of those days, and consequently with its architecture, we have to charge our minds with the then universal custom of observing the most scrupulous care in the selection of animals

destined as sacrificial victims. Every reader of classical mythology knows how animals thus dedicated were garlanded with flowers, covered with tapestry cloths, had their horns gilded, and, after being sealed by the priests as being free from defect, were taken to the altar with music and song. In the Temple at Jerusalem these things gave place to the minutest physical examination, in order to discover any possible defect, or even any sign of pollution in the body of every proposed victim. Thus fowls, brought to the altar, if found to have any feathers soiled from natural causes, were not at once offered, but placed in a cavity opening on the west in the inclined slope which led to the altar (*Middoth* iii. 3). In Jewish Temples similar care to this was exercised in the preparation and examination, before sealing, of animals for slaughter. Thus all sheep had their fleeces washed immediately before presentation to the examining priest, this being found to be the only way in which to secure their acceptance. In the second Temple there was, according to Ezekiel's plan, a chamber outside of the Slaughtering Gate, known as 'the chamber for the priests, the keepers of the charge of the altar' (Ezek. xl. 46). Similar arrangements were made in the third Temple, built under Pharisaic control, in order to secure perfection of service in the matter of sacrificial details. Almost endless details as to this may be read by the curious in the Mishnic tractate *Tamid*, of the continual service in the Temple, all of which refer to the conventions in force at the time of which we write.

There is, therefore, while no direct testimony, a mass of indirect evidence, which connects the Sheep Gate and its pool, in the upper bed of the Tyropœan Valley,

with the Sanctuary Gate of Josephus, through which gate all animals intended for slaughter, newly washed, went on their way to the altar. They must have had some way of approach from the outer world, and no other than this is feasible, or has the least tittle of evidence or tradition in its behalf.

Let us now ask ourselves if there remains any trace in literature of a roadway which should connect two gates, placed where we have ventured to locate these two hitherto unrecognized gates in the ground north of the Temple. If it be realized that any such roadway would divide the Antonia area from the Temple area—in itself a necessary thing—it will be seen that great care would be taken by Herod not to weaken his hold on the Temple by building, or permitting, any such wall as would form a barrier in case of his attack on the Temple from the north. A wall here, if of any strength, would inevitably appear in the narrative of *The Jewish War*. No such hindrance to the success of the Romans is mentioned by Josephus. What does appear is that there was a low wall, of no importance in a soldier's eye, which ran to the south of the suggested roadway. In this slight defence stood a single gate named Tadi. That Tadi means 'obscurity,' that it was on the north side of the Mountain of the House, and that it did not serve for any superior purpose are the main facts about it vouchsafed by the Rabbins in *Middoth* (i. 3). There is, however, one other remark as to Tadi which is of consequence. It is that of i. § 9, in which it is stated that in case of sudden defilement happening to a priest when on duty in the Temple, he had to go out by the (subterranean) gallery which went under the *birah* (lights were burning on both sides), till he came to the

Bath House. Whereupon a correction or addition was made by another Rabbi who said : ' By the gallery he passed under the terrace (= *chel*) and went out and had to go through Tadi.' We are not concerned with the excommunicated priest. What concerns us is to know that there was from the Beth Moked (which was a kind of priestly anteroom to the Temple) an underground gallery that led to the priests' Bath House and to the Gate Tadi. This subway was discovered in 1867. It is called Strato's Tower by Josephus, and may be seen indicated on the Plan.

It is evident that, going out at the Tadi Gate, the offending priest was free of the Temple and its ceremonies, being unfitted for further immediate service. He was now in a street which, in Rabbinical conceits, to one coming from the Temple was as obscurity is to sunshine.

It is also evident that as the four other gates mentioned with Tadi were boundary gates, defining the limits of the Mountain of the House, so was Tadi. It stood on the north of the Temple and on the outer verge of the consecrated ground. This would place it to the south of Antonia and its court, and permit of its opening on to any roadway or street that might have separated the barrack-yard of Antonia from the Temple grounds. Here, then, we place it, as opening into the inferred roadway that ran west from the site of the Golden Gate.

Josephus does not mention the Tadi Gate, except by implication—arrived at thus : A gate presupposes a wall, through which it gives access. If the boundary of the northern limit of the sacred mount was defined by a low wall which was not in the nature of a military

defence, we should not expect it to be mentioned in an account of the siege and defence of Jerusalem. Its removal may have been involved in the order 'to make a road for the more easy marching up of the legions' between Antonia and the Temple (*War* vi. 4 § 3), in which case no more would be heard of it. But we catch a glimpse of such a wall in some earlier litigation that took place during the life of the Emperor Nero. The tower at the south-east corner of the Antonia 'was 70 cubits' or 84 feet high, so that from it the whole Temple could externally be viewed (*War* v. 5 § 8). On this tower Herod Agrippa determined to build himself a very large banqueting room, so that he might there recline and see what was being done in the Temple grounds. As this increased elevation enabled him to overlook the offering of sacrifices immediately within the northern enclosure wall, the Jewish authorities of the Sanhedrin took umbrage, and retaliated by erecting a high wall before the hall in the part of the Temple toward the west. The position of this wall is further described as not only intercepting the view from the dining-room of the palace, but also the view from the western portico of the outer Temple, where, at the festivals, the Romans kept guard, near the Temple. Festus, who was then Governor, ordered the Jews to pull the newly raised wall down. They refused, and the matter was ultimately referred to Nero, who, to please his wife Poppæa,¹ gave permission to let the

¹ Poppæa was the daughter of a wealthy Roman named Titus Ollius. She became the legal wife of Nero A.D. 62, and died A.D. 66. From the fact that her body was embalmed, and not cremated, as were the corpses of distinguished Romans, it may be inferred that she became a proselyte to the Jewish faith. She befriended Josephus on several occasions (*Life of Josephus*, § 3).

wall stand, but retained and put to death the High Priest and another member of the deputation in order to prevent further deputations of the same kind. (*Ant.* xx. 8 § 11.)

A glance at the Plan will show that in order to intercept the view from the two points named, viz. the Antonia tower to the north of the altar and the portico to its north-west, the retaliative wall must have stood somewhere to the west of the position given to the Tadi Gate. In all probability it was the building up of an existing wall of low height which lay to the south of the roadway, and in which Tadi was the sole exit.

A gate was a necessity here, as all the animals for sacrifice had to be brought to the north side of the altar (*Lev.* i. 11). Further, their presence thereabouts would account for the underground passages by which the priests reached the Beth Moked lest they should be defiled by contact with animals or their excrements.

In one respect the Tadi Gate differed from its fellows. They all had lintels over their entrances, a fact which shows that they carried greater or lesser heights of masonry. These lintels were of stone, as may be argued from the analogy of Tadi as well as from the abundance of stone at Jerusalem. Tadi alone had two stones which inclined one upon the other, literally 'resting this on the back of that' (*Middoth* ii. § 3); a formation seen over the chambers of the pyramids. From this fact two inferences may be drawn: one that the gate was wholly an exterior one, exposed to the weather; the second that the wall on either of its sides was a low one, probably of not more than a few cubits in height, before its elevation on the west as above described.

East of the Golden Gate are some indications of a roadway which once ran below the wall of the noble sanctuary for the whole of its length. Among these are a small gate, now built up, which once allowed of individual passengers finding their way through the wall from the Temple mount to the Olivet road without going round by the Golden gateway. Another is the fact that the so-called Solomon's Stables and the Horse Gate (which once stood beside their entrance) would have no other means of access than such a road as is here supposed. This Horse Gate is mentioned by Jeremiah and by Nehemiah, the former of whom gives its situation as at a corner towards the east (Jer. xxxi. 40), and the latter of whom confirms this in his topographical sketch of the city in the fifth century B.C. (Neh. iii. 28).

The slope of descent down the Kidron Valley is a gradual one, now covered with Mahommedan graves, which fact interdicts excavation. No spot in the environs of Jerusalem would so well repay examination as this, for here were thrown over the wall the stone debris of the ruined Temple, both in the times of Nebuchadnezzar and of Vespasian. The time for such revelation as we may expect from such an undertaking has not yet come. Colonel Conder did, however, succeed in running an underground gallery from the Kidron Valley towards the Temple hill, below the level of the tombs, and found the foundation stones of 'a massive wall' of curved shape just outside the Golden Gate. This fragment of a retaining wall is shown in the accompanying plan of the Haram area, and is evidence that the wall ran southward from the gateway, at the north side of which it ended.

The solitary and forsaken monument of the Golden Gate, of which we present a photograph, once teemed with life, and busy throngs of worshippers made its arches ring with the voice of joy and gladness. A main street of Jerusalem, so late as the twelfth century, ran across the city from a point near the Jaffa Gate to the Valley of the Kidron, and terminated at this point.¹ Its continuation down the Kidron Valley has already been suggested.

¹ The late Sir Charles Wilson wrote: 'From the memoir *La Cité de Therusalem*, written about A.D. 1187, it is possible to restore the principal features of the city as they existed at the time of its capture by Saladin. One of these is a main street, which ran from a point near the Tower of David to the Golden Gate.'—Wilson's *Jerusalem*, p. xxi.

CHAPTER XIX

THE TEMPLE TERRACE, OR *CHEL*

THE Temple removed by order of Herod had around it a surface slightly raised above the outlying portions of the hill. This surface was clearly defined by consecutive lengths of masonry, the area within which Ezekiel termed the 'Sanctuary of the House' (Ezek. xlvi. 21). A representation of this paved superficies forms the frontispiece to the volume on *The Second Temple in Jerusalem*. That drawing is not a complete view of the subject, as the citation of the words, 'it had a wall round about' (Ezek. xlii. 20), is followed by the statement (on p. 331), 'as there is no mention of a gate, it is probable that the wall was not a continuous one, but was built in separate sections, and that its form of construction followed that of the *Soreg* of the Temple, by which every alternate space was open and allowed of passage.' No such wall or *Soreg* appears in the drawing. Such an outside application of the Temple partition did not then seem ripe for settlement, and it has been left to this volume to complete the idea of its construction.

The *Chel* removed by Herod was a square of 500 large cubits, or 750 feet, and the paving stones with which it was floored were doubtless stored on removal, for similar future use. What that use was is now to

engage our attention as one of the most interesting of the many subjects which will come before us, in its bearing upon the attitude of those who were Hebrews by birth toward those who were only Hebrews by conviction. Such converts from the idolatries of the heathen world, we might reasonably think, would receive a warm welcome and a tender and solicitous after-care from those whose ranks they had joined and whose noblest trophies they were. Alas! that it should not have been so. But we have clear the evidence that it was not so, in concrete form, in that part of the last Temple now under consideration.

First, let us take the evidence of Josephus as to this part of the holy structure, whose apposite remarks, in each of his books, are coloured by the atmosphere in which, as a priest, he had been brought up, and whose unconscious narrowness of view but too faithfully enshrines the prejudices of his age. Himself not a political bigot, he was compelled, in his writings, to use the language of his day and to reflect its spirit in his pages.

After describing, what is evident to every visitor to the Haram area, that the hill, once 'a rocky ascent,' had been walled on three of its sides, and the space of 35 acres so enclosed levelled, by filling up its hollows until it was 'a smooth level,'¹ he tells us:—

'This hill was walled all round, and in compass four furlongs, each angle containing a furlong in

¹ Immense quantities of loose rock and soil must have been required for the operation, all of which material was taken from the artificially levelled space outside of the Damascus Gate. The cutting down of the hill to the north of the city's wall was a military necessity if that wall was not to be commanded by a higher position. It is in the cutting thus formed that the entrance to Gordon's tomb lies.

length. But within the wall, and on the very top of all, there rose another wall also of stone . . . in the midst of which was the Temple itself' (*Ant.* xv. 11 § 3).

Before writing these words the Jewish historian had, with pardonable pride, referred to the massive walls rising from the valleys below, which are now the things best worth seeing in Jerusalem, and to the large porticoes which leaned on them from the inside. It should not, therefore, be difficult to see in the above citation of his words an endeavour further to describe a smaller square of a furlong, enclosed within a larger area, within which smaller enclosure stood a third enclosure holding the Temple. That his meaning can be none other than this is shown by the fact of his telling us that the larger of the two last-mentioned included spaces was a furlong on each of its four sides, compared with his other statement (*War* v. 5 § 2) that the entire measure of the outside porticoes, which on their inside fringed the walls of the hill, measured six furlongs including the tower of Antonia. Both these sets of figures, the four and the six, are accepted in these pages as genuine, and in the former of them we see the size of the *Chel* which succeeded that of the second Temple. The 'six' will be hereafter dealt with and be the subject of a subsequent chapter on the double porticoes. For the present our attention is confined to the centre one of three enclosure walls, which, lying one within another, resembled nothing so much as one of those Chinese puzzles in which one body lies within another, separate, conditioned by its environment, and yet perfect in itself.

Let us now turn to the Rabbis for further light on the *Chel* and its surrounding wall, which, though not the wall of the 'Ir Enclosure,¹ was not, either, the wall which embraced the hill of Moriah and kept its thousands of tons of made ground from tumbling into the valleys below. They say: 'The Mountain of the House was [an intermediate space of] 500 cubits by 500 cubits, surrounded on all sides by a wall' (*Middoth* ii. 1 and *note*). (Items 148, 149.)

Between these figures and the furlong of Josephus there is but a technical difference of 6 or 7 feet, and, as he wrote for readers of Greek, no hesitation need be felt in accepting the round number of 600 feet as the true one, it being further given in Hebrew building cubits.

There is little doubt that this paved and walled space of two hundred yards every way—a part of which pavement still remains in the pavement on the Haram area—as the 'Ir was one of a hundred yards every way—was a sequence of the earlier building plan and was traditionally intended as a half-way house of sanctity for those who approached the Temple proper. To it all those of Abrahamic descent were welcome, as well as all those who had adopted the Jewish faith as their own. Whether others were admitted we know not. This was its design, but this was not the purpose of its creator and builder, Herod.

As Governor of Judæa for 34 years (*Ant.* xvii. 8 § 1), Herod had kept his judicial courts in the proximity of the Temple, as custom and tradition required. He had no seat in the Sanhedrin, the members of which he

¹ Josephus elsewhere speaks of 'the Temple as being itself surrounded with a very strong wall,' which is the one here referred to (*Ant.* xiv. 4 § 1).

reduced to the level of assessors, but placed his curule chair where that of the judgment seat of the later Kings of Judah had stood, that is, on the south side of the Temple Enclosure.¹

This was within the *Chel*, and to it all litigants and witnesses came, as well as all those idlers who, as in every Eastern city, like to hear cases of law decided.

Twelve years before his death the Temple was so far completed that Herod could hold his assize and appeal courts, sitting between two of its gates, as David had sat when awaiting news of battle (2 Sam. xviii. 24). His official position here completed the secularization of the *Chel*. There were no warning pillars to keep off the uncircumcised and the profane, and no officials to say who should and who should not pass through its many entrances. Hence we find that the old distinction between the *Chel* and its outer border of soil had gradually and completely disappeared. This is so in the pages both of Josephus and of *Middoth*. The latter, having told us that the 'Mountain of the House'—a venerable title borrowed from Isaiah and Micah—was a square of 500 cubits, immediately goes on to define the spaces on each side of the 'Ir Enclosure, as they extended themselves, not to the partition wall of the *Chel*, but beyond them to those outermost walls which bounded the hill on three of its sides, south of the Antonia barrack-yard.² With these termini in mind,

¹ See the case of Zedekiah, accessible to the meanest of his subjects, 'the King then sitting in the gate of Benjamin' (Jer. xxxviii. 7; comp. Jer. xxvi. 10). The situation of this gate was in the south wall. See *Solomon's Temple*, 2nd Edition, pp. 337-8.

² In the accompanying Plan of the Temple quadrilateral, the distances are as follows, the measurements being taken between the outer face of the 'Ir Enclosure and the inner face of the outer walls: To the south 580 feet; to the east an average of 470 feet; to the north an average of 240 feet; to the west 160 feet.

we accept the explanation given by Rabbi Obadiah in Appendix II to the effect that—

‘The distance from the wall of the Mountain of the House to the wall of the court on the south side exceeded the distance which was between them on the eastern side ; and the distance which was between them on the eastern side exceeded the distance which was between them on the northern side ; and the northern space was greater than the western.’

The Plan of the Haram area and Herod's Temple herewith has been drawn in harmony with these distances, and it only remains to explain the appended saying, ‘the space which had the largest measurement was most used,’ to mean that at the annual Feast of Tabernacles the law was publicly read there (Deut. xxxi. 10–13 ; Neh. viii. 1, 3, 16), and that on this, the southern side of the Temple Enclosure,¹ judicial decisions were given, and that here in the open air on every court day large crowds of the rough and unruly elements of the city gathered to applaud or condemn the administration of justice as it seemed good to them to do.

When no sermon or judicial sentence was awaited, but political questions were discussed, as when the national fate hung in the balance, the peace party in the State ‘assembled the people before the brazen gate, which was the gate of the Inner Temple that faced east,’ *i.e.* Nicanor, and there in vain implored them not to provoke a war with Rome by refusing to pay taxes,

¹ Nehemiah says the reading was done ‘before the Water Gate.’ In chap. xvii. it has been shown that this was the name of Gate No. 3 on the south side of the Temple afterwards built.

and to offer the customary sacrifices on behalf of the Emperor and the Roman State (*War* ii. 17 § 3). The choice of this spot for a political issue was in harmony with the precedents of Hezekiah and Ezra, who both held popular assemblies here (2 Chron. xxix. 4 ; Ezra x. 9).

It is not until we come to a more formal definition of the term ' Mountain of the House ' that we see how completely the old sanctity clinging to a part of its area had become a thing of the past at the time of the city's fall. *Middoth* i. 3 gives us the five gates of the ' Mountain.' These are of great interest, as all of them, Tadi excepted, are known and still exist. With them before us no uncertainty remains as to the area intended. Those first named are the two Huldah gates on the south. These subways under the Ophel wall are now known as the Double and the Triple Gates,¹ and may be seen described on plan in *Murray's Illustrated Bible Dictionary*, p. 876. They gave entrance and exit to inhabitants living in what had been the city of David, built on the lower slopes of the Temple hill, and stand at equal distances from the corners of the wall and from each other.

' Kipunus ' is next mentioned as the gate on the west which gave admission to the Temple for those living in the city—then, as now, the most thickly populated portion of Jerusalem. That the gate and steps leading down to Robinson's bridge are meant is, I think, undeniable ; the only thing requiring explanation being the peculiar form of the name given to this once

¹ The lines of the Double Gate, if produced towards the north, fall across the Sakhrah rock. The steps leading down to it began between the *Chel* enclosure and the pillars of the *stoa basilica* on a level of 2420 feet. It has a total width of 40 feet.

noble structure. Built by Herod the Great as a part of his magnificent setting of the city, his unpopularity was so great that his name was not allowed to deface any Jewish writing for many years after his death.¹ Hence it does not appear in *Middoth*, which expressly recounts the measurements of the Temple built by him. 'Kipunus' is an awkward reading of 'Coponius,' a Roman equestrian knight, who, on the banishment to Vienne of Archelaus, son of Herod, and for ten years Ethnarch of Judæa, was, with Cyrenius as Governor-General of Syria, appointed Procurator of Judæa. This appointment involved the incorporation of Judæa with the province of Syria, a measure highly acceptable to the Jewish people. In gratitude for such an answer to their prayers to the Cæsar, they named the bridge after Coponius, their first local ruler after having shaken off the family of Herod. It is not impossible that till then it had been called the Royal Gate, as being a practical continuation of the Royal Portico on the Temple hill, to which it led.

We have already had under our notice the gate named Tadi, and have seen its position in the north line of the Temple grounds. It is here named as being on the north, with the addition that 'it was not used at all,' a statement almost immediately followed by a description of how it was used in case of breach of purity by any priest on duty in the Temple. He left the Temple—the usual resort of priests and Levites being the Beth Moked—and departed by the winding way—a subterranean gallery is meant—having first bathed in the underground Bath House. 'He then

¹ See a Jewish recapitulation of his crimes, spoken to Augustus, *Ant.* xvii. 11 § 2. For Josephus' summary of his character, see *Ant.* xvi. 5 § 4.

went under the *Chel* and passed out by Tadi' (*Middoth* i. 9¹ and ii. 2).

Here we have the Tadi Gate given as the gate of exit for the priests on leaving the Temple for their homes. It was also their gate of entry from outside the Temple grounds, and led immediately into the secret passage which connected Antonia with the Temple. By it, also, all the animals intended for sacrifice were driven or led into the area of the Temple. So that it was one of the busiest and dirtiest spots in the precincts, and the statement that it was not used at all can only refer to its non-use by ordinary Temple worshippers. For them there were other entrances and exits, to one of which we are next introduced as the eastern gate, Shushan, upon which the Persian palace was portrayed. Into this gate of necessity were entrances apart from Tadi, as is suggested in the preceding chapter.

We have now had before us two distinct areas: one of a square furlong, or more correctly of 600 feet; the other of an indeterminate size and shape, these being indicated by the five principal gates which opened upon it. The topography of the situation is exactly described in words written so long ago as 1630 by Professor Constantine L'Empereur: 'The Mountain of the House was indeed much greater than 500 cubits would contain, but to the outer part of it the sanctity did not extend.' At the time of which we write the topographical distinction between the two areas still remained, but the ecclesiastical one was lost. Writing after he had witnessed the fall of the Temple, Josephus

¹ Beside its mention here the outside *Chel* is mentioned in *Middoth* ii. 5 § 7 only as the rampart on to which doors led from the gates Nitsutz and Beth Moked.

speaks of the whole area as one lying 'outside of the second Temple where was a partition of stone,' *i.e.* the outer *Soreg* (*War* v. 5 § 2), within which was 'the first enclosure, in the midst of which was the second, to be ascended to by a few steps,' *i.e.* those of the inner *Soreg* (*Ant.* xv. 11 § 5). The Rabbis, on the other hand, writing, not for Gentiles, but as describing a memorial of their past greatness, retained a memory of the *Chel* as a distinct topographical entity.

Dr. John Lightfoot appositely remarks:—

'That the *Chel* was a space of ground and not a wall we have the testimony not only of divers Jews, but we have the mention of people coming into it, and standing and sitting in it; as Rabbi Nathan speaks of a great divinity school in the *Chel*, and Rabbi Zacchai of having a Sanhedrin there. Also those who brought their Passover lambs to the Temple went and stood in the *Chel*.'¹

We have already cited Rabbi Eleazar as saying that the excommunicated priest went forth (from the Temple) by the gallery which went under the *Chel*, and passed out by Tadi (*Middoth* i. 9). Hence we infer that the terrace did not reach so far as Tadi, but only so far as the exit from the gallery that passed under it.

These galleries were discovered in 1867, and are indicated on the Plan. Vault No. 1 is 24 feet wide (20 cubits) and 130 feet long, and has not been fully explored. Vault No. 3 has two side chambers, which are the bath-rooms mentioned above. One end is bricked up, and this tank, together with No. 1, requires further examination. One result, however, is certain,

¹ *Collected Works of Dr. John Lightfoot*, 2 vols., edit. 1684, p. 1089.

which is that the *Chel* or terrace of the Temple of Herod was above these tanks or vaults. To know this is a positive gain of the first importance¹ in the topography of the Temple.

It may be needless further to labour the point that the spaces on Moriah outside of the 'Ir Enclosure, while occasionally and unitedly spoken of as 'the Mountain of the House,' consisted of two main divisions of land—the inner and partially enclosed one of which was called the *Chel*, and the irregular border of open space surrounding it being technically known as 'the Mountain of the House'; the cause of the obliteration of the distinction in the popular mind being the Roman occupation of Jerusalem and the placing of her officers and soldiers within and above the porticoes which surrounded the 'Ir.

This being so, the names and distinction between the two spaces were carried within the Temple walls, and applied to those portions of its area that lay outside the greater *Soreg*, above the steps. This suggestion brings us once more to the crux of the whole matter of spiritual pride and racial intolerance as they existed in the bosom of the Jewish Church of Judæa in its later days.

That part of the Temple which, throughout its whole width from north to south, lay to the east of the *Soreg* was just one-fourth of its whole area. That area being one of 250 cubits, a simple arithmetical sum will tell us that it was $62\frac{1}{2}$ cubits in width. So exact was the delimitation of spaces within the 'Ir that the boundary wall between them was built upon the division line.

¹ The fact that other tanks lay within the area of the Herodian Temple is no proof that they were not cut before the size of the Enclosure was sufficiently enlarged to include them. Being once made they were irremovable.

Being a single cubit in breadth, the line of separation ran down its centre, giving one half to either side. This will account for the half cubit, leaving sixty-two others to be accounted for. Ten of these were applied to a provision of steps with which to mount to the Temple proper—Josephus’ ‘Second Enclosure’ (items 111-13)—and fifty-two others were given to a double cloister, standing on fine pillars of the Corinthian order. The former of these two breadths was reckoned to be a part of the *Chel* (items 109-13), and the latter to belong to the Mountain of the House (items 114-20). This fine structure, of 300 feet in length, named after Solomon, is that to which Josephus refers as ‘the Portico that faced the Temple,’ the front of which was adorned with the spoils of war, including some trophies placed there by Herod the Great—an undesigned proof that this part of the Temple was completed in his lifetime (*Ant.* xv. 11 § 3). It was this double Portico of two arcades that is variously known as the Court of the Gentiles and as Solomon’s Portico. In adopting the former as the name in common use, Edersheim says Relandus rightly objects that the only term for it used in Jewish writings is ‘the Mountain of the House.’ There was much to be said for this term as a highly suitable designation for that part of the Temple open to the Gentiles.

Two prophets had written, in the same characters :—

‘It shall come to pass in the latter days,
That the mountain of the Lord’s house¹

¹ It certainly does appear unlikely at first sight that the phrase, when used in a passage like this, should have a limited and technical significance; but we think we have shown sufficiently that it must be so understood, as its principal motive was to embody the missionary purport of the Hebrew Church, and this was the only part of the Temple open to proselytes and other Gentiles.

Shall be established in the top of the mountains,
 And shall be exalted above the hills ;
 And all nations shall flow unto it.
 And many peoples shall go and say,
 Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord,
 To the house of the God of Jacob ;
 And He will teach us of His ways,
 And we will walk in His paths :
 For out of Zion shall go forth the law,
 And the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.'

(Isa. ii. 2-4 ; Micah iv. 1-3.)

Such was the origin of the name, and no nobler one was possible. But there the parallel between the prophecy and the structure ended. Words, after all, are but counters. And the beautiful and appropriate title prophetically given to the Gentiles' Court came, in time, to connote all that to the Jew was despicable and to be avoided. Every Hebrew man and woman who entered the Temple had to cross it on the way to the greater *Soreg*—priests and Levites, who had other entrances, excepted. Gentiles entering it came by another door and left by it. Josephus gives us a side-light upon it when he tells us 'Into the first Temple everybody was allowed to go, even foreigners' (*Ag. Apion* ii § 8). And elsewhere: 'The Women's Court was allotted for worship to the women of our own country and of other countries, *provided they were of our nation*' (*War* v. 5 § 2). So that not even proselytes to the Jewish faith, no matter of what sex, age, or dignity, or those who had come from far countries, were allowed to proceed beyond the Common Court open to all mankind. Even one sect of Jews, the Essenes, were excluded from it, as being separatists from the Jewish faith (*Ant.* xviii. 1 § 5). This arrogant contempt for non-Hebrews, even when proselytes,

turned to the help of the world's salvation, as has been shown in an earlier chapter of this book. The spot upon which had been heaped the indignities of the chosen race became, in the Temple, the birthplace of the Christian Church.

It happened that the spot where Jewish intolerance of their fellow-men was most marked became the theatre of one of the most tragic episodes in the most tragic of all sieges known to history. When the Temple was still smouldering in its ashes, with flames breaking out now and then, false prophets persuaded the despairing people that God would still come to the rescue of His house and people. All the surrounding porticoes which fringed the hill were either burnt or burning. Of the gates of the Enclosure all had fallen, except one in the south wall and the Nicanor Gate. The portico to which this gate led stood amid blackened ruins. Amid this scene of almost universal desolation might be heard false words of hope, recounting the miracles wrought on Pharaoh's and Sennacherib's armies, and promising the like deliverance now. In answer to a public proclamation made to this effect in the city, crowds gathered on the roof of the still standing Solomon's Portico to await the moment when the burning Temple should arise from its ashes more beautiful than ever. Of those who thronged there, praying, many were women and many children. Some old men were among them, who hoped that a long life of punctilious Pharisaism would avail them in this awful moment. The long flat roof, supported by its three rows of marble pillars, supported 'about six thousand' souls. Seeing their helpless state 'the soldiers, carried away by their rage, set the portico on

fire,' in retaliation for a similar act of war by which great numbers of Roman soldiers had met their death. The stratagem of the Jews by which this was accomplished is described in *War* vi. 3 § 2, and is some set-off against the barbarity here noted. They themselves stood around, and on the points of their lances received those who threw themselves from above. The insatiable flame fed on its victims, of whom not so much as one escaped.

CHAPTER XX

THE ROYAL PORTICO AND ITS WESTERN APPROACH

ANYONE who has wandered around the site of the Dome of the Rock (*Qubbet es-Sakhrah*) in Jerusalem will have noticed to the south of that edifice a building now known as the Mosque El-Aksa but originally built as a Christian church by the Emperor Justinian. This mosque stands on a portion of the ground where once stood the Royal Portico or *Stoa basilica* of King Herod.

Every artist in words shows his literary genius by throwing into relief those portions of his description which seem to him to be of more importance than the rest. True to this aim, Josephus has endeavoured to put before us some idea of the magnificence of this cloister by giving to its description a larger space than to any other item of his topographical narrative (*Ant.* xv. 11 § 5). He tell us that the fourth front of the Temple, namely, that to the south, faced a Royal Portico, beneath which were gates—the two Huldah gates are meant—and that the building beneath which they ran ‘deserved better to be mentioned than any other under the sun.’ The site itself was that one which on its eastern side had the greatest depth of walling built up from the valley below, being the south-east

corner of the present Haram area, where the living rock is about 140 feet below the present level of the floor of Solomon's Stables, though the wall itself is 200 feet high, so great is the accumulation of rubbish at its base and of vaulting above. The south wall of the Haram area is 922 feet in length, east to west, and the Royal Portico leaned on it for the space of 600 feet. It did not, consequently, extend for more than two-thirds the length of the outer wall, and was built on a stretch of walling equidistant from its corners. Josephus is therefore guilty of an artistic appeal to our imagination in telling us that if anyone looked down from the roof of the portico into the Valley of the Kidron 'his sight could not reach down to such an abyss.' This is true, but it is because the portico did not admit of anyone standing on its roof and looking down immediately into the valley. Nor is he more practically correct in saying that the portico 'reached from the east valley to the west valley.' It may have been 'impossible that it should reach any further than it did,' but this was because it was impossible there to find any rocky bed for its foundation.

Standing where we have placed the Royal Portico, its foundations at the east end would be 50 feet below its floor level, and at the west end 95 feet ; as not till these depths are excavated is the rock met with. Thus placed there were about fifty vacant yards at its either end for ornamental buildings and clear spaces.

On the western side of the portico the Tyropœan Valley ran the whole of its course to join other valleys near the Pool of Siloam. Before the time of Herod there had been a bridge over this valley at a point near

the south-west angle of the Haram area. Josephus gives the occasion of its destruction. He tells us that when Pompey besieged Jerusalem, in 63 B.C., and had succeeded in entering the city, the warlike party retired into the Temple, and cut off the communication between the Temple and the city by breaking down the bridge (*War* i. 7 § 1 and *Ant.* xiv. § 2). So distinct were the defences of the two that Pompey, though master of the city, was three months in overcoming the resistance of the Temple, which he then entered from the north.

The remains of this earlier bridge have been seen, its voussoirs lying tumbled and broken below the level at which the bridge named after Dr. Robinson had its height. The replacing of it by a new bridge on a higher level was effected by Herod as a part of his plan of Temple restoration. There is the most intimate connection between the figures of the one and of the other—both being parts of one great building enterprise. Before, however, we come to a comparison of the measurements of the portico and of the bridge, evidence may be adduced to show that a part of the enclosing wall of Moriah was broken down at this particular spot in order to insert one end of the arch upon which the new bridge was to rest. Its spring-stones, still *in situ*, are 6 feet in thickness. In the *Survey of Western Palestine*, vol. i., p. 175, we read, 'The arch stones of Robinson's bridge are of soft malaki, and the adjoining stones in the wall are of hard missæ.' The size of the stones around and above the inserted monoliths to carry the bridge also differ considerably from other parts of the wall—as may be seen by the least practised eye. The wall here was evidently pulled down for this

purpose and smaller stones used in filling up the vacant cies. The original wall masonry north and south of the bridge is of quite a different texture to that lying immediately about the inserted spring-stones of the bridge.

With this apparatus of topographical material at hand, we may proceed to take up those measurements which go to show that the Royal Portico and the Royal Bridge were parts of one design and were complementary to one another. Not until this is done can we be said to be in full possession of the unity and grandeur of Herod's work in this part of his dominions. We take, first, the measurements of the bridge.

These, according to Dr. Edward Robinson, who first took them, are as follows :—

	ft.
Spring of the arch, length	51
Distance from south-west corner, including 8 ft. thickness of wall	39
	—
Total	90

(Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, vol. i., p. 288.)

The officers of the survey party who subsequently, and with greater exactness, measured the distances, give them as follows :—

	ft.	ins.
Distance from inner face of south wall	30	9
Actual width of arch	50	0
Same distance north of arch	30	9
	—	—
Total	110	6

(*Survey of Western Palestine*, vol. i., p. 239.)

In Appendix I, items 138 ff., the spaces provisionally given¹ to the width of the Royal Portico in its three arcades are 110 feet 8½ inches—showing a difference of but 9¾ inches between the inferred results of the Royal Portico and the ascertained results of the bridge which led to it.

What makes this coincidence of greater interest and value is the fact that if the details of the architectural scheme be worked out, it will be found that while the bridge itself lay in a line with the middle walk of the Portico, the space available for foot passengers on the bridge—there being no question of vehicular traffic—was the same as in the centre walk of the triple portico. The 50-feet width of the bridge arches—it had two, each of 40 feet in diameter—would be lessened by the width of some necessary parapets to the footway. The middle walk of the Portico has been given as 43 feet 1½ inches. This we may reasonably take as the clear width of the bridge footway, the parapet walls on either side being possibly of the thickness of several Greek feet, making up the fifty.

Not only is this so, but if the remaining spaces to the south be taken a further coincidence appears. The distance of the arch from the south wall has been given as 30 feet 9 inches—the wall itself not being included.

¹ For convenience of reference these are repeated here, viz. :—

	Greek ft. of 11½ ins.	English values ft. ins.
Radius of engaged pillar . . .	1½	1 5'25
South walk of portico—width . . .	30	28 9'00
Diameter of pillar	3	2 10'50
Middle walk of portico—width . . .	45	43 1'50
Diameter of pillar	3	2 10'50
North walk of portico—width . . .	30	28 9'00
Diameter of pillar	3	2 10'50
Totals, Greek ft.	115½	110 8'25

If we take the south arcade or walk of the Portico, we find that it extended northward to a distance of 33 feet ; or less if the measure be taken as from centre to centre of pillar ; the provisional figure being 28 feet 9 inches in the clear. There were no sidewalks on the bridge to correspond with the smaller arcades of the Portico.

While, however, there were these unities between the two constructions it is to be borne in mind that they were not on the same level. The roadway of the bridge lay many feet below the floor of the Portico. A connection between the two was established by having a series of steps¹ in a tunnel leading down from the Temple area to the bridge below. Traces of these steps would probably be discovered if excavations were here permitted.

In addition to the visible projecting shoulder of the Royal Bridge, first described by Dr. Robinson, there is another memorial of Herod's work in the building of his Portico. This consists of two massive pillars which stand in the vestibule of the Double Gate. These pillars upheld the mass of earth which formed the floor and supports of the Great Portico above, and it is natural to see in them a position immediately below that of some of the pillars of that structure. The late James Fergusson recognized these two still-standing pillars as being an architectural feature of Herod's Temple which has remained *in situ* (Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iii., p. 1461). These monolithic pillars are described by Colonel Conder as being each 6 feet

¹ Having mentioned the three upper gates which were between the Temple area and the city on the west, Josephus says : ' The east gate led to the rest of the city, where the road descended down into the valley by a great number of steps, and thence up again to the ascent ' (*Ant.* xv. 11 § 5).

in diameter and together supporting four flat domes. (Murray's *Illustrated Bible Dictionary*. Art. 'Architecture.') Sir Charles Warren confirms this, adding that the roof consists of four flat domes, highly ornamented with Herodian tracery. (*Idem*, Art. 'Temple.') One of the fifty plates of the *Survey of Western Palestine* shows that the centre of each of these monoliths is about 39 feet from the outside face of the south wall. They thus stood immediately below two of the pillars supporting the Portico roof, each pillar having a diameter of three Greek feet; the distances above being :—

	ft.	ins.
Thickness of south wall, about . . .	8	0
Radius of engaged pillar . . .	1	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
Width of South Walk of Portico . . .	28	9
Centre of pillar of Middle Walk . . .	1	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
		<hr/>
Total . . .	39	7 $\frac{1}{2}$

In the late Sir Charles Wilson's opinion, 'the vestibule of the Double Gate was undoubtedly a portion of Herod's Temple, and the great monolithic column in its centre corresponded in position with one of the pillars of the Royal Cloister, which ran along the side of the south wall.' (*Jerusalem*, 1889, p. 68.)

These preliminary studies of the topography and remains of this portion of the Temple will have prepared us to look at the architectural account of the Royal Cloister, which Josephus gives with more of a seeing eye than we otherwise could have done. He evidently carried with him a memory of its impressive effect such as no other part of the Temple gave him. Nor when we consider the character of its builder can we

fail to see some reason for this. Herod, the Edomite parvenu, was, above and beyond all things, anxious to display and insist upon his royal character. We see this in the very fact of his rebuilding the Temple. We see it in his tyrannical act of placing the Roman Eagle over the gate of the Temple at its completion; we see it most plainly in his naming of this particular portico as the *Stoa basilica*, and in his undoubted determination to make it that portion of the whole structure which should most powerfully affect the minds of his subjects with a sense of his dignity and state.

The size and position of the Royal Portico being so far determined, we turn to the evidence for its elevation.¹ This is less satisfactory than the other, as Josephus wrote after its destruction, and indulges in some rhetorical flourishes in describing it. His positive statements about it are, however, harmonious and credible. He tells us that its order of architecture was Corinthian, the capitals of its 162 marble pillars being sculptured in that style. The pediments of this portico alone were adorned with deep carving in wood, the other porticoes not being decorated 'with any work of the painter or sculptor,' but having a fretwork of cedar-wood only. In another particular than this did it differ from them. This was in having a clerestory, or raised roof, in the centre. This speciality arose from the fact of its being the only triple portico in the Temple grounds. The central nave was thus both broader and higher than any others. The array of pillars supporting the whole fabric had the shaft height

¹ All the following particulars are taken from *War* v. 5 § 2, and *Ant.* xv. 11 § 5.

of 27 Greek, or nearly 26 English, feet¹ (item 139). Four rows, each of 40 such pillars, upheld the long arcades (item 143). Of these the innermost row was set in the city wall, and but half of each pillar was visible. The base of each of these pillars was ornamented with 'a double spiral,' by which is probably meant the ram's horn pattern. For the two extra pillars facing the west and the city see items 140-1.

The total height of the portico to the top of the parapet or ridge of its clerestory was 'above fifty feet' (item 142). This added to the 200 feet of which the wall consisted at the south-east corner made that abyss of which Josephus says one would be giddy in attempting to look down into it.

It is probable that above the height of the four rows of Corinthian pillars the roof was supported entirely by wooden pillars and beams. This is the more likely from the fact of there having been 'deep carving in wood' at the frieze and pediments.

The destruction of this noble work is told in a single line. 'The Romans burnt everything, such as the remains of the porticoes and the gates, two excepted, one on the east side (*i.e.* the Solomon Portico) and the other on the south (*i.e.* the Stoa Basilica); both of which, however, they destroyed afterwards.' (*War* vi. 5 § 2.)

We have seen that there was a vacant space at either end of the Royal Portico of about 150 feet in length. On the west the steps and tunnel down to the Royal Bridge were here placed and may still be recovered.

¹ This is nearly the same measure as he had given to the pillars of the double porticoes, which he tells us were 25 cubits in height, or 30 feet (*War* v. 5 § 2). This was probably inclusive of their bases and capitals.

On the east there stood a detached building which Josephus calls 'The Pastophoria.' (*War* iv. 9 § 12.) He describes this elevation as that from the top of which one of the priests stood and, with a trumpet, blew signals announcing the beginning of each Sabbath and also its close. We are thus reminded that the cry of the muezzin in Moslemism is but a reminiscence of Temple times.

But the building of the Pastophoria served many other purposes than this. It was here that a priest stood and watched for the dawn of every day. It was only when he saw 'the whole sky as far as Hebron' lit up with the coming sunrise that he reported the coming of another day. While he awaited this moment from the top of his watch-tower, the priests and Levites within the Temple had made preparations for the morning sacrifice. As soon as the signal was given the Temple gates were simultaneously thrown open, and, almost at the same moment the lamb was slaughtered, it being imperative that its death should take place before the rising sun was visible.

In a word, all the ordinances of religion in the Temple were regulated by what was seen from the top of this edifice, and by the trumpet signals which were blown from it; the new moon of each monthly festival especially being so proclaimed.

The name given to the erection was one alien to the Jewish faith and language. The 'Pastophori' were an inferior order of Egyptian priests, whose duty it was to carry the sacred vessels and idols at religious processions in that country. (Dr. Georg Eber's '*Ægypten*,' p. 341.) The term seems to have been transferred to the third Temple because of the carrying to and fro

of the silver trumpets with which the blasts were blown from the roof of the Pastophorion, though Josephus uses it, in *Ant.* xi. 5 § 4, to describe the Chamber of Jehohanan to which Ezra retired from before the second Temple, and in which he spent the night fasting on account of the sins of the people (Ezra x. 6). This may have stood on the same site as the Pastophoria.

The building itself, in the Herodian Temple, played its part in the civil strife that preceded the great siege. Over its top John erected one of the four wooden towers from which he threw darts and stones both on those who held the Temple Enclosure and on those who assailed him from the Zion city below. (*War* iv. 9 § 12.)

There can thus be no doubt either of its existence or of its position, though any restoration of it must be purely conjectural. The suggestion has been made that its roof was that 'pinnacle' of the Temple from which our Saviour was urged to cast Himself down, a suggestion which has in its favour the great depth into which anyone standing there looked down—a depth unequalled in any other part of the Temple site.

CHAPTER XXI

THE DOUBLE PORTICOES, OR OUTERMOST TEMPLE

IT is not until we have some realization of the fact that the three-quarters of a mile of the present walling about the Haram area was lined with a series of double porticoes that we can have any true conception of the extent or the magnificence of Herod's work about the Temple. That some such architectural effort was the case is certain, and it only remains to present such details of these cloisters as shall carry evidence of their existence and shall assist the imagination in enabling it mentally to recall them. The technical details have already been worked out for these pages and may be seen shown on a Plan and summarized in an Appendix. It is therefore necessary only to say that five of the six furlongs¹ of outer porticoes resembled, in size and appearance, that named after Solomon within the Enclosure walls of the Temple, the architectural details of which have already been given (comp. items 114-20). The sixth furlong was that *Stoa basilica* to which the chapter previous to this has been devoted. In item 146 an attempt has been made to adjust these five furlongs to the require-

¹ As Josephus wrote for Greek readers he uses a term, 'furlongs,' familiar to them, to describe a length of 500 cubits—the difference between them being only 6½ feet.

ments of the site, but such adjustment has no value beyond showing how the porticoes *may* have been placed so as to correspond with the site and its requirements.

An idea of the immense number of pillars required for the support of these cloisters may be gleaned by recalling the fact that in the *Stoa basilica* each of its four rows of pillars consisted of forty.¹ Double porticoes, such as those which completed the circumvallation, had two such rows of rather smaller pillars, and a third partly built into the wall (items 144-5). Taking the former, we find that 80 separate pillars would be required for two lines in each furlong, and, as there were five such cloisters, no fewer than 400 marble pillars had to be cut and dressed, as well as to have their Corinthian capitals separately sculptured. To these 400 we have to add the 160 in the Royal Portico, 40 in the Gentile Court of the Temple, and an unknown number in the Court of the Women, about which the testimony of Josephus is that, while the colonnades there, being single, were smaller than those of the Gentile Court, they were in no other way inferior to them. (*War* v. 5 § 2 ; item 147.) If we put the number of floriated capitals required for these pillars and their inset associates at a thousand we shall probably be within the truth as to the number actually wrought, or to be wrought. It is this aspect of the Temple building which gives the impression that the Temple and its cloisters were not finished for use till many years after Herod's death. A sentence of Josephus, referring to the year A.D. 65, 'And now the Temple was quite finished' (*Ant.* xx. 9 § 7), if not

¹ In harmony with this inter-columniation, twenty have been given to each row of pillars in Solomon's Portico, its length being one half that of the *Stoa basilica*. See Plan.

referring to its repair and partial reconstruction, may be understood in the sense that temporary supports of wood or stone had till then been used in the erection of some of these cloisters, which supports were gradually replaced by marble pillars with their bases and capitals, and that it was not till the reign of Agrippa that this work was completed. In this way only can we harmonize the *Antiquities* with itself, in an earlier passage of which we are told that Herod 'laboured at the porticoes and the outward enclosures, and these he built in eight years' (xv. 11 § 5), *i.e.* by 10 B.C. On his death, at the time of the Christian era, the revenues of the State were no longer available for the prosecution of the work of completing the Temple. It therefore lingered for over sixty years, and was sustained by the revenues of the Temple alone.

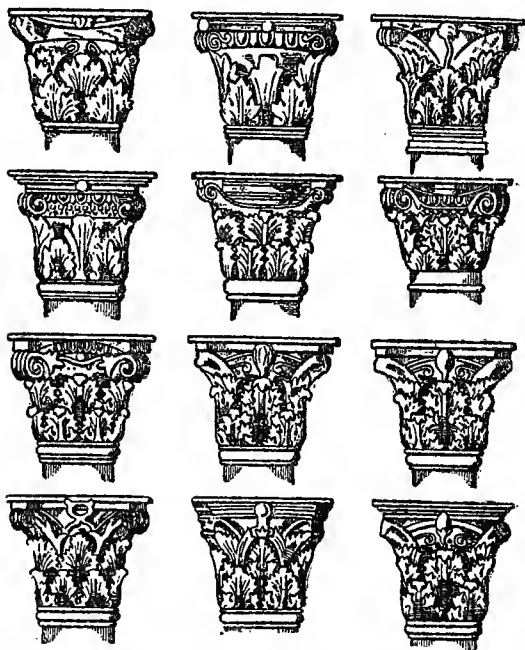
If there were anything like a thousand acanthus-leaved capitals used in the Herodian Temple, it is unlikely that all these were so defaced and destroyed at the burning of the Temple by Titus that some traces of them should not survive to our own times. The officers of the *Survey of Western Palestine* found portions of engaged pillars in the Temple debris, deep down in the excavations of the south-east angle of the Haram area. Others, they say, are still visible *in situ* at the Triple Gate (*Survey of Western Palestine*, vol. i., p. 165). It is noticeable that portions of 'engaged' pillars only were found. These would be useless for any other purpose than that of being built into a wall,¹ whereas whole capitals might subserve any other

¹ In the walls of the rectangle of the Temple area—1500 feet by 900 feet—columns of the finest marble, porphyry and serpentine built in among the blocks of limestone are by no means rare (Dr. Samuel Manning's *Those Holy Fields*, p. 108).

purpose in which pillars were to be used. Such a purpose we have in the double row of marble pillars with Corinthian capitals which now surround the sacred rock and form the support of its famous dome. The *Qubbet es-Sakhrah* is a purely Saracenic building, and, as an inscription within it tells us, was erected in the year 668. It is one of the world's masterpieces of that style of architecture, but no one has suggested that the marble pillars which now form part of its external face were cut by Mahommedan hands or designed by an Arabic mind. That they are adaptations from an earlier building is shown by the fact that some of the drums forming the pillars are put in upside down, while in the cave beneath the rock is a piece of statuary which, owing to its transgressing the Mahommedan law of representation, has been purposely built in with the face below so as to conceal its character. The diameter of the shafts of these pillars about the great dome is 22 British inches, and an engaged pillar drawn on one of the fifty plates of the Survey has a radius of 11 inches. These measures are almost exactly those of one and two Greek feet. The pillars may have bulged in the middle to complete the Greek foot of $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

In my own opinion the marbles forming these twenty-six pillars were dug up from the debris of Herod's Temple, fragments of which had been thrown over the wall into the Valley of the Kidron, and that but for the Mahommedan graves there we should be able to disinter parts of many of their fellows which now lie at some depth below the surface, all those lying near the surface having been extracted from the soil and utilized as a part of the present Dome of the Rock.

Owing to the kindness of the committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, I am able to reproduce an engraving of some of these pillar capitals, by which their true Grecian character will be seen, and the fact



CORINTHIAN CAPITALS ON PILLARS AROUND THE SAKHRAH

Reproduced by kind permission of the P.E.F.

of their variety of carving will go in the direction of showing that they were the work of Greek artists who wrought separately and leisurely and did not adopt the principle of having them all of one model or copied from a single original.

All this, however, is speculation, but it is speculation

such as may cause the eyes of those who read it and in the future visit Jerusalem to gleam with a new interest as they reflect that the pillars they see standing around the sacred rock may once have formed a part of that edifice of which Jesus said, 'Make not My Father's house a house of merchandise.' Not until the times of the Gentiles shall have been fulfilled and the soil of Jerusalem shall give up her secrets can it be known whether or not these pillars ever upheld a screen over the head of the Son of Man, and echoed to His voice as He taught in the Temple.

In the wall between Robinson's Bridge at the southwest angle and the Gate of the Sanctuary, standing opposite to the Golden Gate, were three smaller gates leading into the group of sister cities on the west which, together, formed the citizen quarter of Jerusalem.¹ These entrances are named after their discoverers, and are known as Barclay's Gate (south), Wilson's Gate (middle), and Warren's Gate (north).

Like the Huldah gates in the south wall, they were descended to by series of steps from the platform of the Temple. This construction admitted of the porticoes being built over them, their floors being thus left free for pedestrians, and also allowed of their being completely closed to an enemy attacking the Temple from the west, by the passages being filled with earth. It is probable that they were so filled at the time of the great siege, and have so remained until within the last few years. All are now open. Josephus speaks of these three gates, and associates with them the en-

¹ Named the Upper City, the Lower City, and the Upper Market Place. Their relative position is given on the author's Plan of Jerusalem attached to the volume on *The Second Temple in Jerusalem*.

trance to the Royal Bridge to their south in these words—his order of recapitulation being from north to south :—

‘ In the western part of the enclosure of the Temple there were four gates ; the first led to the King’s palace and went to a passage over the intermediate valley ; two more led to the suburbs of the city ; and the last led to the rest of the city, where the road descended down into the valley by a great number of steps ’ (*Ant.* xv. 11 § 5).

These words do not admit of any other topographical application than that the most northerly of these gates, *i.e.* Warren’s Gate, was that one which led to King Herod’s palace in the western suburbs of the city, to the site of which an underground passage still exists and is well known as running through the heart of the town.¹ It has this further evidence in its favour, that it lies in a line with and immediately below that ‘ King’s Entry ’ (Gate No. 10) which was from of old the wicket where sovereigns entered when about to worship in the Temple ; and the statement, above, that there was ‘ a passage ’ over the Tyropœan Valley, may mean a covered way by which Herod was accustomed to protect himself from the danger of assassination when on the way to and from his oratory in the Temple.

South of Warren’s Gate is the *Bab es-Silsileh* going over Wilson’s Arch, and leading to a great causeway

¹ Josephus’ description of this may be read in *War* vii. chap. 2, in which he speaks of Herod’s *underground* ascent to the Temple from his palace near the site of the Jaffa gate. The late Sir Charles Wilson sees this subterranean way in the underground passage running beneath David Street, Jerusalem.

over the valley which carried the termination of Josephus' 'old' or first wall of the city (*War* v. 5 § 2). Above the wall was a conduit bringing water from Solomon's Pool, near Hebron, to the Temple site. Beside the end of the old wall may have been wicket-gates leading into the cities north and south.

The most southerly of the three gates was Barclay's, which stands some seventy yards north of Robinson's Bridge. One of these gates is described by Josephus as leading directly to the Xystus, or Gymnasium, on the west of the Tyropœan Valley, for over this gate John, the leader of the Zealots, erected a wooden tower, which tower, at one stage of the siege, marked the progress of the flames lit by the Romans (*War* iv. 9 § 12, and vi. 3 § 2).

It may be possible to settle which of these gates is meant—and so decide the situation of the Xystus—by reference to a scene which took place between the fall of the Temple and that of the city. Titus, in a conference with the rebel Jews—the Tyropœan Valley being between them—stood on the west side of the outer Temple, and therefore at one of the city gates, for the parley. 'There were,' says Josephus, 'gates on that side, *above the Xystus*, and a bridge' (*War* vi. 6 § 2). If this bridge be the one known as Robinson's, no doubt can exist as to Titus having stood at Barclay's Gate. Opposite to this was the Xystus, a place which played a prominent part in the great siege, near to which stood the Jews in their parley with Titus.

When one of the psalmists wrote of Jerusalem that it stood

'On the sides of the north,'

he touched one of the outstanding facts of the city's topography. It is that while the city is surrounded and seamed by ravines or valleys, it has no such protection on the north. Here the Morian hill slopes gently down till it touches first Antonia, then the Temple, and dies away in the gradual fall of Ophel.

Such a position caused great difficulties in the erection of its defences. To the west of Antonia great labour was expended in cutting down the bank of the hillside till it should be on a level with the sill of the Damascus Gate, then known as the Fish Gate.¹ East of this a similar work was attempted, so as to make a continuous northern line of defence for both city and Temple as far as the western slope of the Kidron. The soil was, however, found less grateful here, a bed of rock everywhere presenting itself to the pick and spade of the defenders. At or near the junction of the two lines of defence was a singular natural phenomenon. This was a jut of rock, not large in area, but of many cubits in height. Early in the history of the city as the Jewish capital the value of this isolated elevation was seen, and its history, as Baris and the citadel, goes back far beyond the days of Nehemiah in the fifth century.² We are concerned now, however, solely with its appearance in the time of the New Testament, when it still retained its ancient prerogative as the dominating military position of the whole city. The Roman troops occupied Antonia, lately rebuilt and remodelled by

¹ Both these gates stood at the head of the Tyropoean depression, and allowed of the flow of water over or under their sills. The streets of Jerusalem, like those at Pompeii, acted as surface-water drains as well as carried the traffic.

² It is thought to be 'the tower of Hananel' of Neh. iii. 1.

Herod the Great, and greatly enlarged by him in its area—so that there were exercise grounds for the soldiers, and baths, with other military conveniences.

In each of his books Josephus gives a formal account of this citadel and its uses, though that in the *War* is naturally the fuller of the two.¹ From these we learn that all that part of the Temple which lay north of the deep scarp west of the Golden Gate was considered to belong to Antonia. The street which divided the plateau of Moriah into two parts was the boundary of the two jurisdictions. North of the street the soldiers had an unchallenged supremacy, while south of it the priests were, within certain limits, independent. While, however, these two authorities claimed special rights over their own portion of ground, each of them also claimed to have some authority, rights, or vested interests in that portion of the hill occupied by the other. Thus the hierarchy claimed all the site, south of and apart from the citadel itself, as a part of the Temple. Josephus is careful to express this in the opening words of each of his accounts. In one case they are: 'Now in an angle on the north side [of the Temple is to be understood here] was built a citadel.' In the other they are: 'The Tower of Antonia² was situated at the corner of the two porticoes of the first Temple [by this term Josephus here means all that portion of the Temple hill that lay outside the 'Ir Enclosure and the *Chel*] that faced west and north [*i.e.* the walls of which faced].'

It was because of this ancient but now shadowy

¹ *Ant.* xv., xi. § 5; *War* v. 5 § 8.

² Turkish barracks now cover the rock on which the central Tower of Antonia was built, the projecting rock itself having been removed.

claim to the whole hill that Herod so far yielded to the priestly and national party as to enclose the whole area within the outer porticoes of the Temple. The Jewish historian tells us that the six furlongs of porticoes 'included [an angle of] the Tower of Antonia' (*War* v. 5 § 2), and elsewhere that where the enceinte of the citadel 'joined the two porticoes of the Temple it had a passage to each of them by which the Roman guard descended' (*War* v. 5 § 8).

It was from one of the two flights of these 'stairs' that Paul addressed the crowd that followed him after his violent arrest in the Temple (Acts xxi. 40).

The history of this incident, which for its fullness and fairness may be likened to a photograph in words, fittingly introduces the general rights which Rome claimed and exercised, by means of her overwhelming military force, over and in the Temple. A contingent of five hundred soldiers always occupied the barracks at Antonia, but at each of the three great festivals of the year this body was considerably strengthened from Cæsarea. Whether or not it rose to a legion of ten thousand men—Josephus says 'legion'—is not a matter of importance, but the light any such accession of military strength throws upon the character of the Jewish people is important. The nation was seething with discontent. The Sicarii, afterwards under the leadership of Simon, who was executed at the Tarpeian Rock as the commander of the rebels against Rome, are mentioned as assassins in Acts xxi. 38 (R.V.), and were already an active and bloodthirsty party in Jerusalem. So threatening was the position of affairs, and so inflammable the materials of which the nation was composed, that on the Passover feast which

followed Herod Agrippa's death a cohort of infantry, fully armed, was stationed above the portico of the Temple, which, from the context, is shown to be that of the Gentiles within the Enclosure. On a riot beginning these were reinforced by others, who poured into the porticoes in great numbers, spreading themselves over the whole Temple grounds, and expelled the worshippers, many of whom were killed (*War* ii. 12 § 1). Referring elsewhere to this event Josephus says that the placing of troops in the Temple was regularly done, as seditions generally broke out at these feasts, and that Cumanus was then administrator of Judæa, and Claudius Emperor (*Ant.* xx. 6 § 3 and *War* i. 4 § 3).

At an earlier date we find that the Romans kept guard at the festivals, and particular mention is made of a body regularly stationed in the western portico of the outer Temple. This was to the north of the Temple itself (*Ant.* xx. 9 § 11).

References to these instances are sufficient to show that the claim of the Romans to keep order in and about the Temple was not a fictitious one, and that, in asserting their right to do this, they did not regard the scruples of the Jews or stand upon ceremony with them. Strained relations such as these, when once seen to have existed, may assist us in understanding why it was that the chief captain, together with a whole cohort of six hundred troops, were detailed to take Jesus on the night before the Passover (*John* xviii. 3, 12). It was, doubtless, believed that the Nazarene was a dangerous agitator, and that by securing him before the festival a violent outbreak would be averted. On these festivals the civil governor of the

State occupied rooms in the Antonia barrack,¹ but it does not seem that Pilate was asked to sanction the arrest (Matt. xxvii. 18). It was deemed to be an act of mere police administration, without any special significance, and may, by the regimental commanding officer, have been honestly intended as a means of securing a peaceable assemblage on the morrow.

We have seen that at the two flights of steps that led into the fortress of Antonia the western and the northern porticoes had their termination, and can thus understand that sentence of Josephus in which he tells us that the six furlongs of cloisters included Antonia. A short section of the western portico at its northern end was the first to fall in the war. Seeing Titus in possession of Antonia, the Jews, fearing that he would use the portico as a further point of attack upon them—for 'it joined the Tower of Antonia'—with their own hands burnt and broke off a good section of it. This action of theirs is severely reprobated by Josephus, who here departs from his usual calmness of record and blames his countrymen for making their Temple 'square,' and thus ensuring its destruction; basing his condemnation upon some imaginary prophecy in their sacred books. We may, however, see in his words a topographical fact of some value, which is that the quadrilateral of the Temple was, at its north-west corner, broken into by the intrusion of a portion of the outworks of the great fortress, and is so represented on the Plan (*War* vi. 2 § 9 and v. 4; comp. v. 5 § 8). This

¹ Uniformly spoken of as the *Prætorium* in the New Testament. Comp. Matt. xxvii. 27, Mark xv. 16, John xviii. 28. The *Prætorium* of Acts xxiii. 35 is the military quarters at Cæsarea.



By permission of

The Controller of H.M. Stationery Office

THE GOLDEN GATE, EAST FACE, OVERLOOKING
THE KIDRON VALLEY

prevented its being rectangular, which is what Josephus means as square.

The height above the Kidron at the angle at which the east portico, that ran parallel to the Kidron Valley, joined the north portico is referred to as being 'frightful.' Here the depth of the wall is nearly equal to that at the south-east corner, owing to the withdrawal of the hill westward.¹ The whole of this portico was burnt in a single day when the Romans became masters of the Mountain of the House—the Temple Enclosure still being untaken (*War* vi. 3 § 2).

This east portico, in its suggested length of 1200 feet, fringed, on its inner side, a wall the exterior length of which is 1530 feet. It did not extend so far south as the Pastophoria, and it was divided by the Shushan Gate which stood at the junction of 460 feet from the north and 1020 feet from the south angles. There were, of course, in the Shushan Gate of Herod's time side entrances, so as to allow of free access from one portico to another, as well as portals of exit at both its ends. This may account for the Golden Gate having the unusual length of 70 feet, the double porticoes all having a width of between 62 and 63 feet. This near coincidence in size is full of interest, especially if the thickness of the wall be added to the width of the portico. The total in each case is the same, a fact which explains the extraordinary present length of the Golden Gate (item 137). It is the only part of Herod's Temple which is still standing as a complete structure.

¹ The *el Wad* Valley runs into the Kidron at a distance of 145 feet south of the N.E. angle of the Haram area, where the depth of the rock is 125 feet below the surface level.

CHAPTER XXII

THE GREAT MOAT NORTH OF THE TEMPLE

THE quadrilateral of the Temple was surrounded on three of its sides by deep valleys and lofty walls. On the fourth side the Tower of Antonia frowned, but it lay about a thousand feet from the valley of the Kidron. It was between these points that the later attacks on Jerusalem were invariably made. Here Pompey—already in possession of the city—chose to place his battering-ram and *ballistæ*. So distinct were the defences of the two places—the Temple and the city—that when Titus had overcome the resistance of the Temple hill, a fresh plan of attack and new assaults had to be made to break down the defences of the city.

It was this sense of isolation from its attendant city that made the complete protection of the Temple of such supreme importance.

West of Antonia is a deep scarp artificially made of the descending hill, which effectually prevented darts, stones, and arrows, when thrown from its top, reaching the defenders within the city's north wall. East of Antonia such a provision was not considered sufficient. There, accordingly, it was determined to cut a deep trench in the rock, a fosse which, when filled with water, should stretch from the foot of the Antonia tower to the descending slope of the Kidron Valley. Such a

fosse was the best defence the military science of the day permitted of, and was ordinarily effective against all comers until the discovery of gunpowder.

This defence must have been as old as the outer walls of the Temple. We cannot imagine that the enormous labour and expense of building walls, whose foundations were in the valleys, would have been undertaken had not some provision been made for the strengthening of that part of the defence which was weakest, and which lay above the Temple.

There is no historical evidence bearing upon the matter apart from the fact that when Nebuzaradan took the city 586 B.C., he did so by making a breach opposite to the Virgin's Spring in the Kidron Valley. The City Gate overlooking the water supply was then known as the Water or Fountain Gate toward the east (Neh. iii. 26 ; xii. 37). It is, however, referred to by Jeremiah as the Middle Gate, being the centre one of three gates on that side of the city (Jer. xxxix. 3). Certain it is that the Babylonian army, after eighteen months of siege, would not have taken the city and Temple from the east if the north had not been powerfully protected and had not successfully resisted all efforts to enter them. This state of strength involves the northern defence of the moat, which must have been in existence then. Lewin expresses this opinion in these words :—

‘ That the great moat at the north of the Haram was excavated by Solomon we should conclude from the circumstance that no other King of Israel could have had the opportunity or means of executing so costly a work. There was certainly a great fosse in that quarter long before the time

of Herod, for Strabo (xvi. 2) mentions it in the siege of Jerusalem by Pompey' (Lewin's *Siege of Jerusalem*, 1863, p. 261).

So formidable an obstruction to his entering the Temple did Pompey find this moat that he was three months in overcoming it, as all the trees in the neighbourhood had to be cut down for the purpose,¹ and even then the trench was filled up with difficulty owing to its immense depth. Not till this had been done could the engines of war and battering-rams, brought from Tyre for the purpose, play on the wall within the moat.

Pompey's capture of Jerusalem took place in the year 63 B.C. Of it Josephus has given two accounts. One in his *Jewish War* (I. vii. 1-5), and another in his *Antiquities of the Jews* (xiv. 4, 1-4). Each account states that on coming to the city Pompey took a survey of its defences. In the *War* it is said that he found it strong on every side excepting the north, which was not well fortified, for there was a broad and deep ditch that ran round that part of the city, and included within it the Temple, which was itself surrounded with a very strong stone wall. The corresponding passage in the *Antiquities* is: 'Pompey pitched his camp outside, at the north end of the Temple where it was most open to attack, though even on that side great towers rose up and a trench had been dug.' The expressions in these two sentences are so similar that it is hard to avoid the conclusion that by the ditch or trench in each of them is meant a huge fosse connecting the lofty erection of the Tower of Antonia with the deep depression of the Kidron Valley.

¹ In Titus' siege of the city these were collected from a circle of eleven miles around the city, or ninety furlongs (*War* vi. 1 § 1).

Josephus' history of the final siege and fall of Jerusalem is of inestimable value, though marred by certain peculiarities. One of these is that in speaking of the three walls of Jerusalem he sometimes does so from the point of view of a besieged Jew, and sometimes from that of the besieging Romans—in whose camp he lived. In the former case the innermost wall is spoken of as the first or old wall, and the outermost as the third wall (*War* v. 4 § 2). In other cases he speaks of the outer wall as the first, and the innermost as the third (*War* v. 6 § 2).

At the opening of the siege two attacks were planned by Titus. One was on the west side of the city, near to the Hippicus tower. Here two mounds were raised, and the walls battered. This attack was, however, soon abandoned, and all the energies of the assailants concentrated on the north attack. Here a deep ditch divided the fourth hill, *i.e.* that of Bezetha on the north, from Antonia. It had been lately dug on purpose to prevent the foundations of the Tower of Antonia from joining the hill of Bezetha, and from being easy of access from an overhanging height (*War* v. 4 § 2).

It is difficult to see how, with this explanation before us of the object of digging the ditch, any other conclusion can be come to than that this was a new ground-work, designed to create an artificial valley between two hills, and not simply a recess around the fort Antonia itself. There was this also.

This being so, Titus raised two great earthworks on which to place his engines—one opposite the middle of the pool called Struthius,¹ and another at about the distance of 20 cubits (24 feet) from the first.

¹ Strution=soapwort pool.

It is probable that these two earthworks were erected south of the northern fosse, or pool, itself. Pompey had filled up a portion of the moat while bringing his rams from Tyre. Titus would be compelled to do the same levelling work. It was in doing this that he lost many men by missiles from the Tower and from the North Portico. Their position within the southern moat also enabled the Jews to undermine and destroy the engines. There is—from the whole course of the siege narrative—no other conclusion to be drawn than that this pool Struthius was distinct from the moat—though they may have been circum-jacent to one another—and that the earthworks were so placed as to attack from them either the tower itself to the west, or the wall lying beyond the moat to the south. It was the wall of the latter that was first pierced—being declared to have been ‘weak’ (*War* vi. 1 § 3). The next paragraph states that ‘the Tower of Antonia was still standing,’ and it required all the address of Titus to get his men to storm the breach in the portico wall—the reason being that it lay beyond the moat and under the tower. An attempt to do so was made by Sabinus and eleven others, but it failed, and all were either killed or wounded.

The final fall of the Antonia tower is instructive. Some five-and-twenty men keeping guard at the earthworks determined to attempt a night surprise. They first stole through the breach already made in the wall carrying the north portico, and then entering Antonia from the rear, where the gates were open, cut the throats of the guards they met, and so occupied the fortress.

The first order given by Titus on finding himself in

possession of the great fortress was 'to rase to the ground the foundations of the Tower of Antonia, and to make an easy ascent for all his army' (*War* vi. 2 § 1). In doing this Titus was doing as Pompey had done in similar circumstances, by filling up the moat, and in each case for the same reason—to afford a roadway by which the battering-rams might be dragged across the artificial ravine and reach the Temple Enclosure.

The labour of filling the ditch occupied the Roman army seven days—the instructive statement of Josephus being that the doing of this work had overthrown the foundations of the Tower of Antonia and had made ready a broad way up to the Temple (*War* vi. 2 § 7). The Tower of Antonia now became the headquarters station of Titus and his staff, from which he directed the assault upon the walls of the Sanctuary (*War* vi. 4 § 4).

In these circumstances it would seem to be out of the question that the attack on Antonia should be held to have been from the west. Had it been so the attack would have been on the Sheep Gate, of which we hear nothing. Nor would there, on this side, have been found any necessity for the mention of Bezetha, with its dividing valley, or fosse.

The new fortress of Antonia was wholly the work of King Herod. It was such, however, only as to its later reconstruction. When he took over the government of Judæa he found there an old fortress, adjacent to the north slope of the Temple, called Baris (*War* i. 5 § 4). This he repaired at a vast expense and called Antonia, in honour of Mark Antony (*War* i. 21 § 1).

It is one of the difficulties of tracing back the history

of this fortress that the name Akra is once given to this as in other cases to the Akra citadel on the more northerly of the two western hills of Jerusalem (*Ant.* xii. 9 § 3). But as the history of the Antiochian fort is comprised within the years 170-140 B.C., when its Syrian garrison was forced by famine to capitulate to Simon Maccabeus, who demolished the fortress and lowered the height on which it stood (*Ant.* xiii. 5 § 11 ; xiii. 6 § 7), there is little danger of confounding the two—except in the pages of 1 and 2 Maccabees. Akra, however, still remained the name of the upper city which it had dominated, and is often met with in the pages of Josephus.

It will be apparent that a deep moat running from the edge of the Kidron Valley on the east would demand, as its best possible protection on the west, some such tower as we have in the steep elevation of Antonia. The history of its site may be traced to pre-Captivity days, to which likewise must belong the moat which it commanded. A work so great would receive, as did the tower protecting it, additions and enlargements from time to time. Of these there is no record, unless it be that the moat being considered to belong to the Tower is to be included in the history of its many repairs and enlargements. In this way it may have escaped that particular and separate mention which we should desire.

Williams, long ago, saw the relation which must have existed between the two sections of the northern fortification, as he says:—

‘ The great moat on the north of the Haram area known as *Birket Israil* does so entirely answer the description of the fosse on the north of the

Temple as given by Strabo and Josephus that I cannot question its identity.'

(Williams' *Holy City*, vol. ii., p. 353.)

Let us collect the modern topographical details of such a ditch as we have supposed, so far as they are now available. The base of the rock at the foundation of the Turkish minaret, and also at the barrack near it, has been found to be 2460 feet above the sea, or 20 feet higher than the upper face of the pavement round the Sakhrâh rock. This rocky level is scarped toward the east so as to form a ditch of which 350 feet in length has been examined. This ditch, Strabo tells us, was 60 feet in depth and 250 in (superficial) breadth, *i.e.* measuring its three sides (*History* xvi., p. 763. Oxford edit.).

The Palestine survey party found that it was scarped to a depth of 30 feet on the south side and of 60 feet on the north side. The floor of the moat is thus sloped to the north so as to give the greatest depth of water to an enemy advancing from that side.

Beyond the 350 feet of extension from the west the scarp continues, but has been arched over. On these arches a convent and many houses stand, so that minute and exact information as to this part of the moat is wanting. This continues for about one-third of its length, and is the reason why the whole subject of this moat is so obscure. To the east of this covered section, and in a line with it, lies the *Birket Israil*, a huge cemented tank whose dimensions are :—

Length	.	.	.	.	360 feet
Breadth	.	.	.	.	130 „
Depth	.	.	.	.	85 „

It communicates with two subterranean channels westward, by which it is supplied with water. These, however, must be of late construction, as the whole wet ditch was originally fed with the flow of water from some source without the Damascus Gate, the aqueduct conveying the water from which has lately been discovered and traced to the foot of Antonia.¹

Of the thousand feet given as the necessary length of the Antonia moat, we thus have two-thirds, or 710 feet, exposed and scientifically examined. The intervening 300 feet, dividing the two portions under survey, lie in the middle of its whole length. It is a pleasant thought that the soil now lying there is probably that placed by the Roman soldiers, upon which the unimaginative builder has fastened as a site for his modern erections.

South of the moat and rising from its edge was that 'weak wall' which is described as the last hope of the Jews in their defence of this part of the Outer Temple (*War* vi. 1 §§ 3, 4). On its fall the Tower of Antonia still stood, and a temporary curtain within the separate wall was soon destroyed. When these were breached the north portico still stood, as its burning is described in the after history of the war. The relation of the three, the cloister leaning on the wall built for its support, and that again rising from the edge of the moat must be mentally restored if we are to have a complete view of this part of the Herodian Temple, of its defences, and of the part which the moat played in the memorable and final siege of the city till the Crusades.

¹ This ancient aqueduct has been traced within the walls of the city to a point between the Damascus Gate and the opening into the royal quarries.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE MIDDLE OR GREATER SOREG

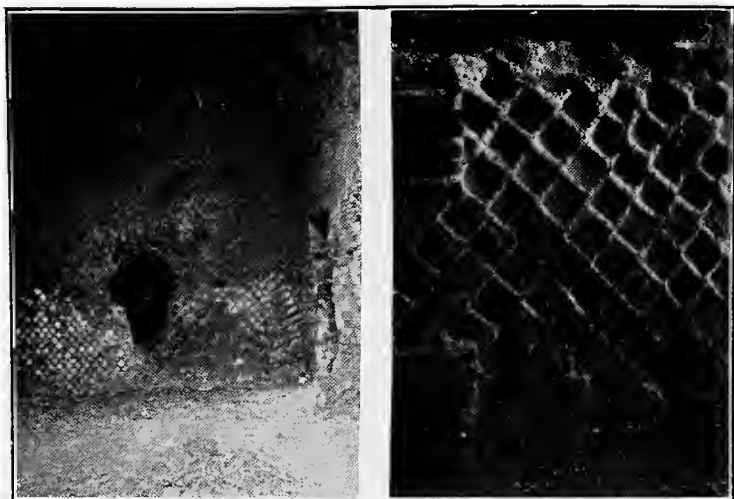
HAVING gone over, generally, the constituents of the Herodian Temple, we return to the central and main Enclosure to take a more particular view than before of its various parts.

In a complex of buildings with such a heavy enclosure of walling as had the 'Ir (item 150), it would naturally occur to its constructors to build the containing wall last—the site having first been delimited. When this had been done, the apportionment of work between the Hebrews and the other Herodian builders would be decided on. This was fixed by the position of the *Soreg*, which cut off three parts of the site from the remainder. All within its line bore a higher sanctity than did any other part, and was included in the former part of the statement of Josephus that 'the Temple itself was built by the priests in a year and six months; while Herod laboured at the porticoes,¹ which he built in eight years' (*Ant.* xv. 11 §§ 5, 6). Here we have the division of labour which was dictated on the one hand by the ecclesiasticism of the priests and on the other by the inordinate ambition of Herod

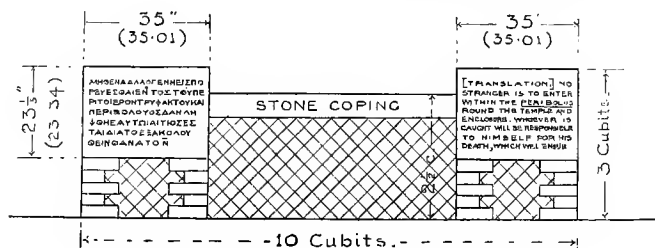
¹ This statement is exactly correct. Herod's architects are known to have built only the *Stoa Basilica*, the portico called Solomon's, and the six furlongs of porticoes known as the Outer Temple. They may also have supplied the pillars for the Treasury colonnades.

to make his Temple the finest in the world, and to do this in his own lifetime.

The *Soreg* wall, one cubit in thickness, being built to a height of seven feet—above which stood the pillars of the *Soreg*—would be the boundary line between the Hebrew and the Greek builders. It stood exactly on the 75-foot line of the site, when taken from the east, and stretched across the whole breadth of the building site—a distance of 300 feet. Confining ourselves to its construction—its importance has already been pointed out—we find, when the time came for its completion, which may not have been till near the close of the earlier building operations, that it was divided into twenty-five spaces of twelve feet each in length. Of these, thirteen spaces were added to by being raised some three or four feet higher, and twelve left vacant as passageways. We know that this was so on the authority of *Middoth*, which has two references to the thirteen lengths of walling (ii. 3, 6); though it gives them in the usual Hebrew idiom—to which the prophet Malachi conforms (Mal. iii. 1)—of speaking of the three Temples, of Solomon, Ezekiel, and Herod, as if they were one building, or at least were built on the same plan. In the matter of their *Soregs*, the plan of Ezekiel completely differed from that of Herod, as may be seen by comparing their ground plans. Ignoring this difference, the Rabbis said that the Greek Kings—the reference is to Antiochus Epiphanes' profanation of the Temple—had made thirteen breaches in the *Soreg*, which the Jews had built up again, and now ordained thirteen obeisances opposite them. This means that when anyone came opposite either of the breaches he bowed himself before it and acknowledged with



GREEK MASONRY (*OPUS RETICULATUM*)



WALL-LENGTH OF MIDDLE SORE

thankfulness the destruction of the Greek Kings and the preservation of his faith. It is a beautiful tradition of the last Temple that every worshipper who passed through the *Soreg*, as he did so performed an act of grateful worship in remembering the history and vicissitudes of the house. Antiochus had evidently destroyed the *Soreg* of Ezekiel's Temple.

We have a precious memorial of the last Temple in the Warning Stone, described in chapter xv. ; not one of its fellows bearing a Latin inscription has been recovered, though twelve stones in each language were set up. The possession of this one, however, enables us to complete the design of the *Soreg* with something of more than literary accuracy.

There was one point in which contemporary Greek architecture was at one with the traditions and precedents of Temple construction from Solomon to Herod. This was the frequent use of *opus reticulatum*, specimens of which may be seen in any Greek building of that age, and are specially abundant at Antium. (See photograph illustration taken at Puteoli.)

In my description of the Solomonic Temple and in exegesis of 1 Kings x. 12 and 2 Chronicles ix. 11 the following words were used : ' There is no portion of the architecture of the Temple in which such " pillars " and " lattice work " could find a place except in the division between the courts, where every alternate space between the pillars was filled with wooden lattice work, as in the precedent of the Tabernacle *Soreg*, where palm boughs were used.'¹ The *Soreg* of Ezekiel's Temple was similarly constructed,² its wooden

¹ *Solomon's Temple*, 2nd Edit., 1908, pp. 311-12. *The Tabernacle*, 2nd Edit., 1906, pp. 173-5.

² *The Second Temple in Jerusalem*, 1908, pp. 304, 307-8, 316, 328.

lattices being called windows. In the Herodian Temple wooden lattices gave place to bricks of stone which were placed on edge, and so gave to the wall in which they stood an appearance of lozenge-shaped network (*Middoth* ii. 3 and *note*). This was a reminiscence of the earlier Temples, and served to remind the beholders of the earlier *Soregs*. Such, then, was the formation of the thirteen lengths of brickwork which carried the Warning Stones in the last Temple. These lengths and the wall upon which they rested—destined afterwards to support the fourteen steps forbidden to Gentiles to pass, though they might ascend them—were necessarily built by Greek hands and measures, as reticulated work was a speciality of Greek architecture. It is seldom seen in remains of Roman or other work, and we cannot conceive that so inartistic a people as the Jews should have attained to it. There was this difficulty as to the building of the wall: that the unit of construction in the two nations did not agree. The Hebrews of this age used the cubit of 14.4 inches. The Greek foot was shorter, and did not read beyond $11\frac{1}{2}$ or $11\frac{2}{3}$ inches. What M. Clermont Ganneau's discovered stone tells us, is that its breadth or thickness was $1\frac{1}{3}$ Greek feet, or 15.56 British inches. This was rather over a single inch more than the cubit, but it was the nearest approximation to it, and was the measure by which the stone was cut, and presumably it overhung the wall to this extent.

Josephus has several references to the *Soreg* wall, all of which are of interest and go to establish and illustrate the argument of these pages, and the statement of *Middoth* (ii. 3) that the *Soreg* wall was of reticulated masonry. The first is as to its height and appearance :

'Between the first and second Temples was a partition of stone, whose height was three cubits, of very elegant construction' (*Ant.* xv. 11 § 5). He would hardly have made this passing allusion to its elegance had it not differed in some striking respect from the masonry of all of the other parts of the building.

Then as to its height, which he tells us was three cubits ($3\frac{3}{8}$ feet). This differs by the given fraction of a foot from the ten handbreadths of *Middoth* (items 109, 110). The discrepancy here is however accounted for by other statements of Josephus as to the form of its construction. One is, 'upon which wall stood pillars, at equal distances from one another, declaring the law of purity, some in Greek, others in Roman letters.' Another, given in an imaginary speech of Titus to the rebels, is, 'Did not you . . . put up a wall of partition before your Holy of Holies? Did you not put up pillars in the Temple at due distances, and engrave on them in Greek and Roman letters the order that no one should go beyond that wall?' (*War* v. 5 § 2 and vi. 2 § 4). The point at issue here is that the inscriptions are said to have been written on 'pillars.' With the Warning Stone before us this can be understood only in the sense that these stones were raised above the level of the wall into which they were built. The construction drawing, therefore, shows the wall itself as $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits high and the pillars as 3 cubits—these being the measurements above the level of the twelfth step. Both measures are incorporated into the text of these pages, with the result that a reasonable explanation is given of the 'pillars' of Josephus.

As to the legal basis upon which the sanctity of the *Soreg* of Herod's Temple rested we have, outside of

Scripture, several statements. Those from the *War* are :—

- (a) ' No foreigner was to enter the holy place.'
- (b) Titus is made to say—

' Did we [Romans] not give you leave to kill any that went beyond that wall, even though he were a Roman ? ' (v. 5 § 2 ; vi. 2 § 4, and iv. 3 § 10).

Those from the *Antiquities* are—

- (a) ' Inscriptions forbidding any foreigner to enter under pain of death ' (xv. 11 § 5).
- (b) The citation of the words of a decree of Antiochus II—223–187 B.C.—refers to the second Temple—

' It shall be lawful for no foreigner to come within the precincts of the Temple, which is forbidden also to the Jews, unless to those who have purified themselves according to their national custom ' (xii. 3 § 4).

Of eminent personages, Julius Cæsar—who died 44 B.C.—is undoubtedly the greatest benefactor and friend that the Chosen People had in the later part of their national history. Repeatedly, during his brief tenure of power as Consul and Dictator, he issued decrees and rescripts which were favourable to the Jews. Not only did these documents—copies of which may be seen in the eighth and tenth chapters of the fourteenth book of the *Antiquities*—confirm the Jews in the possession of all their ancient religious rites and laws, but he wrote to Sidon, Delos, and other places under Roman rule, forbidding any persecution of the Hebrew settlers or any interference with their financial

support of the Temple in Jerusalem. His liberal policy in these matters was followed by his successors, and to him and to them we may trace that immunity from insult and that independence of outer control in the sanctity of their Temple which we find obtaining during the long reign of Herod the Great, and after, till the fall of the Temple in A.D. 70.

NOTE

There were three *Soregs* in Herod's Temple. The smallest of these stood between the two worshipping courts and forbade laymen to advance into the *Naos*. The second was that to which this chapter has been devoted, and forbade Gentiles to enter the *Hieron*. The third was that which surrounded the terrace of the Temple, and is discussed in chapter xix. It was perhaps ultimately used as a barrier to persons excommunicated by the Sanhedrin, as was the blind man of John ix. 34.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE TEMPLE OR *HIERON*

BROADLY speaking, the heavy containing-walls of the Temple Square—apart from the Gentile portion—held two areas nearly equal in size and differing greatly in their relative ecclesiastical value and sanctity. These were named respectively the *Hieron* and the *Naos*, the former of which had the lesser dignity and is the subject of present consideration.

The topographical line of distinction between them was known to every Jew, and is, happily, recoverable by ourselves.

Lying to the west of the *Soreg* was a rectangular space, 250 cubits in width from north to south, and 187 cubits from east to west. The line of demarcation between the *Hieron* and the *Naos* roughly followed the division of this space into two areas each of 125 cubits wide. This was only generally so. Nowhere did the separating line fall upon this ideal line of division, as in one part it exceeded it and in another fell short of it.

As one entered the Temple from the east, the *Naos* lay to the right, beyond the lay court for worship, and the *Hieron* to the left. Between the two sacred areas was an irregular line of almost unbroken walling which, for 135 cubits from the west, trenched for 10 cubits,

or 12 feet, on the half which lay to the right. It did so in order to allow of the completion of the square of 135 cubits of which the Treasury or Women's Court consisted (items 103, 104). A re-entering angle then occurred of 20 cubits in length, toward the south. The former direction was then resumed for the distance of 52 cubits,¹ thus completing the 187 cubits of the dividing line. This was the length of each of the figures—the *Hieron* side and the *Naos* side—when measured from east to west, though the interior court of the *Naos* did not extend eastward beyond the priestly *Soreg* which stood above the steps on either side of the altar. Its length, therefore, was 176 cubits, the balance of 11 cubits being taken up by the court in which lay worshippers might stand, and which formed a portion of the *Hieron*.

This division of distances and spaces is made upon the authority of *Middoth*, which, in addition to giving separately the gross sizes of the two sides (items 95 ff., 88 ff., and 103, 104) in its notes taken from the Talmud, discusses the point as to whether the members of the Sanhedrin might sit in the vestibule or veranda of their own hall. The decision is that the Sanhedrin sat only in the less hallowed chamber *Gazith*, and only Kings of the House of David might sit in the more holy area. The distinction here made is beyond comprehension until we have a plan of the ground before us. It is then apparent that 'the place of the pillars' (*Middoth* v. 2), or pillared portico, is a part of the inner court which lay between the slope of the altar and the

¹ Fifty-two cubits was also the width given to the Solomon's Portico or Court of the Gentiles (item 115). Such duplication of numbers is characteristic of the time, as may be seen by instances in the Schedule of Specifications.

Gazith chamber. In the discussion this veranda was reckoned as a part of the hall, although outside its walls. In this part, it is agreed, seats were not allowed, but only within the walls of the chamber itself, which latter was therefore of inferior sanctity and a part of the *Hieron*.

The distinction so awkwardly arrived at is, however, a vital one, and carries with it the argument that all that part of the inner court which lay north of Gazith and west of the low wall of partition was reckoned to belong to the *Naos* and not to the *Hieron*.

With this conclusion before us we may proceed to a more minute and careful analysis of the parts of the *Hieron*, and remark that it consisted mainly, though not entirely, of a large rectangular space of 162 feet measurement on each of its four sides, as to which Josephus says, 'It was square and had its own wall round it' (*War* v. 5 § 2). Following the precedent of the previous Temple, there was built in each of its four corners an enclosure (items 105, 106). These enclosures, in Ezekiel's Temple plan, had been 48 by 36 feet, inclusive of their walls, and were not roofed over, but were open spaces, walled in, and contained a number of fire-places with large cauldrons built in over them. In these the sacrificial meats were cooked.¹ This arrangement it was now determined to continue, with certain additions and improvements. As a larger building space was now at the service of the builders, they determined to devote squares of 48 feet in the corners of the court to the culinary service of the Temple (item 105). These spaces were not, however, as before, to be used solely for the purpose of providing

¹ Ezek. xlv. 21-4.

refreshments for the attendants at the Temple. Beneath each set of fire-places and cauldrons a room was built upon the stone-floored roof of which the cooking was done.

In an incidental way Josephus (*War* v. 5 § 2) gives us the height of the walls which served this double purpose. It was 25 cubits, of which probably 20 cubits were given to the rooms and 5 cubits used as parapets for the fire-places. The purposes to which the four chambers beneath the fires were devoted may be learnt from *Middoth*, which has two references to them. In the first of them (ii. 5) the four are specifically named *seriatim*, with their uses, and are quaintly said to have been 'smoky.' In the other (v. 4), those only which abutted upon the ground of the *Naos* are spoken of, but additional information is given of other chambers, to be used in the sequel. There is no discrepancy in these two passages of the Mishna, and in their light we may proceed to see to what purposes those rooms, which were an entirely new element of the Temple, were put.

I. The chamber in the south-east angle of the court was the clerical office of the Temple. It had its own outer entrance in one of the three great gates on that side of the wall, as also a smaller door, with a level-crossing, which led to the room opposite. Here were kept all the daily records and registers of the nation, together with entries of all gifts and sacrifices. All vows made were registered here and their fulfilment recorded. Hither, then, came St. Paul in fulfilment of his vow on his last sad visit to Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 26). Here also the presentation of the infant Jesus took place, and His enrolment as a descendant of David, a fact afterwards generally known and never questioned (Mark x.

47). Technically it was known as the Chamber of the Nazirites, or of such as were under vows, temporary or permanent, and *Middoth* says, 'Here they shaved their hair and cast it under a pot,' in exact obedience to the Mosaic rule in Numbers vi. 18, as to the completion of the act. (Compare Acts xxi. 24.)

As, after the fall and burning of the Temple, Josephus narrates the burning of the house of the 'archives,' it is probable that the completed genealogies and national records were kept in a separate place somewhere within the city,¹ and not in the south-east chamber of the Temple. *This* was a place of current business, *that* a library.

2. Opposite to the south-east chamber was one of the same size within which was stored the tithes and sacrifices of corn and oil that were the due of the Temple, the wine being kept elsewhere. It was known as the House of Oil, and supplied abundance of provisions to that party of Zealots who had 'seized upon the inner court of the Temple' in the civil strife that preceded the siege (*War* v. 1 § 2).

3. The chamber in the north-west corner was the place of examination of lepers. Jesus' 'Go, show thyself to the priest' ² (Matt. viii. 4) was a recognition of the old law of Leviticus xiv., by which a period of seven

¹ Before the archive-room was burnt with all its contents, Josephus had taken out of it, by favour of Titus, copies of the sacred books of the Old Testament, afterwards used by him in the preparation of his *Antiquities*. Another copy was placed by Vespasian in the Temple of Peace in Rome (*Life of Josephus* § 75; *Against Apion* i. 10; *War* vii. 5 §§ 5, 7).

² The injunction to the man 'See thou tell no man,' was doubtless given lest, the miracle becoming known, the priests should refuse to pronounce him clean, and so the 'testimony' be destroyed. The testimony was intended to be one by which the priests should be compelled to admit that the man was now clean, and that a notable miracle had consequently been wrought.

days was to pass between two examinations of a patient who professed to have been cured of his leprosy. These days were spent in the seclusion of this chamber and under the eye of the priesthood.

4. The fourth chamber was the wood-house of the Temple, and as such was near the great altar, the fires of which were maintained by its supplies. It is probable that an opening through its wall on the north side allowed of logs and faggots being passed through it to the immediate neighbourhood of the fire-hearth.

In Jerusalem, adjoining the great causeway in the Tyropœan Valley, is a large open hall, known as the Makhama. It is a square, and in each of its corners is a room—giving to the whole an appearance similar to that of the Treasury in the days of Christ.

In the centre of the great Hall Makhama is a drain to carry off the water which falls on its unroofed portion.

As the origin and age of this large hall are unknown, it is not impossible that it is an ancient Jewish building reproducing many of the features of the once-existing Treasury.

These four apartments in the Treasury covered a combined area of 96 feet square, out of the total of 162 feet square of which the court consisted. There were other items of subtraction from the remainder, in the space taken up by the broad steps, as may be seen by a reference to the Plan. The balance, however, was an irregular figure, in which were placed the feasting colonnades. To these no definite figures of size can be gleaned from ancient documents ; and they are shown on the Plan as being in the shape of a T, with broad walks around them on three of their sides. Josephus

speaks of them as single cloisters, extending from the [west] wall inward in front of the treasure chambers, and as being in no way inferior in architecture to those of the lower or Gentile Court. They are, therefore, given the same width as a single arcade of that cloister with pillars of the same diameter.

This wide space of open and unroofed colonnades was the great meeting-place of the Jewish people of all lands. Here they and their wives and children might be sure that they would not suffer annoyance by contact with Gentiles or those of any alien faith. The social uses of this open hall—to which not even proselytes were admitted—did not escape the keen eye of Josephus, who thus refers to them :—

‘ Those Hebrews that live in all parts, however remote, . . . maintain a friendly feeling with one another, by meeting and feasting together ; for it is a good thing for those that are of the same stock, and under the same laws, not to be unacquainted with each other ; which acquaintance will be maintained by their thus conversing together, and by seeing and talking with one another, and so renewing their memory of one another ; for if they do not thus converse together occasionally they will appear mere strangers to one another ’ (*Ant.* iv. 8 § 7).

Of this commendable family feeling, which gave to the Hebrews such unparalleled unity and strength of national character, the place under consideration was the chief theatre. It was never so gay and festive as in the autumn of each year, when the whole court was turned into a bower of green, by ‘ the making of Taber-

nacles to God in the Temple ' (*War* vi. 5 § 3), and when every visitor carried in his hands a bough of myrtle or willow or a branch of a palm, together with a fruit of one kind or another (*Ant.* iii. 10 § 4).

Josephus sometimes calls this elevated enclosure ' the Court of the Women '—as in *War* vi. 9 § 2, v. 5 § 2—but he is not uniform in his use of the name, and at other times speaks of it as ' the inner court ' to distinguish it from the first court, which in his mind at the time was that of the Gentiles.¹ In *Middoth* it is distinctively and uniformly known as the Women's Court, and in the New Testament always as the Treasury. It is so named in each of the Evangelists. Neither of these names was its official designation; they are derived from its most general uses: ' Women's Court ' because not only were women limited to it, but they were not allowed the same egress as men at gate No. 1. When leaving the Temple they were required to retrace their steps to the *Soreg*, after passing which they went out at gates numbered 3 and 6, one leaf of the latter of which was known as the Gate of the Women (*Middoth* ii. 6). Nor, while within the court that was named from them, were they at all times free from further isolation. The universal practice in synagogues of placing women worshippers in a gallery had its origin in the fact that in the last Temple were galleries or balconies to be occupied by women only.² From these they were supposed to see the smoke of the altar fires, if not the altar itself. *Middoth* says that it was done to keep the sexes separate, that they might not be tempted to levity. In the avoidance of this

¹ *War* v. 1 § 2, 5; iv. 3 § 12.

² Graetz, *History of the Jews*, says that three of the chambers had balconies around them. Vol. I, p. 3.

name by the writers of the New Testament we have an instance of their delicacy of feeling toward woman.

It was known as 'The Treasury' because on either side of the entrance to it, at gate No. 13, was a number of wooden chests with trumpet-shaped openings, into which contributions were dropped. These chests numbered thirteen, and each one was marked with the object to which donations put into it were to be applied.

A hitherto unmentioned structural peculiarity of this court was the number of steps within and around it. To the north were the fifteen narrow, circular steps that led down to the area of the Temple proper, upon which, according to *Middoth* ii. 5, the Levites chanted the fifteen songs of degrees. These are our psalms numbered cxx. to cxxxiv., and the fact that the number of these songs of ascent corresponds with the number of steps upon which they were sung is a fact full of significance as to the late date at which they received their superscriptions.

To the south were the ten steps mentioned by Josephus in the closing sentence of *War* v. 5 § 3. As this reference is liable to be misread, a liberal paraphrase of it may be given in these words:—

From the Court of the Women toward the Nicanor Gate were fifteen broad steps, which led away from its wall. From the interior of the same court ten other steps led to the south gates (which are those numbered 1 and 2), which in each case opened upon a broad pavement outside of the wall.¹

¹ The height of the Women's Court floor having been shown to be 10 cubits above the *Chel* outside, these ten steps of half a cubit each would reduce this by half only. To the other half is given the slope that led away from Gabbatha. From the above paraphrastic citation we learn that the 'broad pavement outside the wall' extended beyond the limits of the two gates and filled up the space between them.

Hiera, or holy places, were common in Judaism, and we find them mentioned as existing in extra Palestinian countries, as at Philippi (Acts xvi. 13, 16). They derived their sacredness from their dedication to acts of worship and from their past associations and not from the record of any special manifestation of God in them, such as that which gave to the Temple site its hallowed character. The *Hieron* at Jerusalem shared only in this lesser sanctity, though it was as jealously guarded by the priests as was the *Naos* itself. One reason of this may have been the loss of all popular respect for the *Chel* under the Roman rule. There seemed, therefore, all the more reason that what remained to them of the outer defences of the Temple should be made the most of. This applied only to the non-Jew. Members of the stock of Abraham were at liberty to erect such buildings within it, and to put it to such uses as seemed to them to be desirable. We find, accordingly, besides those already mentioned, that there were other halls or rooms built upon it. *Middoth* (v. 4) gives us a group of these. One of them was the Chamber of the Draw-well, in which water was drawn up by a wheel for Temple uses. The tank itself from which the water was drawn was cut on the return from Babylon and was incorporated into the Herodian system. An underground tank of irregular shape has been discovered lying due east of the Sakhras Stone, but there is no evidence to show that it was the one intended in the text of *Middoth*, or by what means, other than a wheel, the water was obtained. Many other tanks lie to the south of this one, some of which are more favourably placed for this purpose than the one above mentioned. Another hall was named

Gazith, or the Hall of Hewn Stones. This was the official meeting-place of the Sanhedrin. No particulars as to its size are available. It has, therefore, been drawn as of the same size, *i.e.* a square of 48 feet, as the other chambers in the *Hieron*. Of these three adjoining structures, *Middoth* (v. 4) says, 'The chamber of the High Priest [Gazith is meant] was behind the other two [*i.e.* the wood and water houses], and there was an even roof to all three,' upon which the High Priest walked. A glance at the Plan will show how these conditions have been met, the buildings covering the ground available, with the exception of a narrow passage or covered way of two cubits wide, which, though the only item wholly without written authority, is still absolutely necessary, from an architectural point of view, as a means of easy access from the neighbourhood of the altar to the Court of the Treasury.

The former of the two courts named 'of Israel' and 'of the Priests' also belonged to the *Hieron*, as they lay on either side of the inner partition for their whole length (items 89, 90), and served the purpose of allowing laymen to see and touch the base of the altar while yet preventing them from intruding into that part reserved for priests.

Two minor items of the *Hieron* are mentioned by Josephus. One is the 'distance of ten cubits, all level,' which lay between the fourteen steps of the *Soreg* and the wall of the High Priest's chamber, Gazith (item 108). These ten cubits were an even continuation of the Court of Israel, which was of this width. This part of the *Hieron* thus stretched from the outer wall on the south to that on the north, and was a fitting finish to

the narrow steps which gave admission to both portions of the *Hieron*. The other was that long flight of broad steps which led from this level space up to the gate giving entrance to the Treasury (Gate No. 13). These steps numbered fifteen, and were six feet broad and forty-two long. Each had a 'rise' of but a sixth of a cubit, or less than three inches. The whole was a noble sign of welcome to the incoming guests to the tables of the Lord's house and to the seats by which they were surrounded (item 107). Many passages of the Book of Psalms and the Prophets refer to the material eating and drinking which went on in the house of the Lord as an aspect of Temple worship. A specimen of these is: 'They shall come and sing in the height of Zion, and shall flow together to the goodness of Jehovah, for wheat, and for wine, and for oil, and for the young of the flock and of the herd' (Jer. xxxi. 12).

Of the area of the *Hieron*, as laid down above, all is now applied to buildings, steps, or open atria, except one small space. This vacant site is that on the south-east corner, where a plot of land 40 by 42 cubits remained unappropriated. We cannot think where such good use was made of every inch of ground that this corner was unoccupied. Here, then, is placed that second court for the Sanhedrists which we know to have existed, and of which we have indications in the writings of the New Testament historians, where our Lord speaks of Sanhedrins (Matt. x. 17; Mark xiii. 9).

Referring to an earlier chapter for the full account of the trial and condemnation of Jesus as they are associated with the Temple, let us see what each of the Evangelists has to say about this particular hall, in which took place the main trial of strength between

malignant envy (Matt. xxvii. 18) and innocent and voluntary helplessness. For here was that place to which Jesus was led on His capture,¹ otherwise described as 'the High Priest's house' (Luke xxii. 54). The usage by which the chief place of authority is described in these two Gospels as the 'house' of the man wielding authority is one common to the age. We have already instanced Gazith as being 'the Chamber of the High Priest' (*Middoth* v. 4). And that Annas may be the man intended by Mark in each of his five mentions of the High Priest² is rendered feasible by his having held that office, though now deposed, and by the fact that the title was retained by and accorded to anyone who had once held it—as is done in Luke iii. 2 and Acts iv. 6. On this point the witness of John, who of all the Apostles clung most closely to his Master, is of special value. It is as clear as it is decisive, the words being—

'So the cohort and the military tribune and the officers of the Jews seized Jesus and bound Him, and led Him to Annas³ first; for he was father-in-law to Caiaphas, which was High Priest that year' (John xviii. 12, 13).

Here then, just within the Water Gate, was that lesser Sanhedrin Hall over which Annas presided. In the darkness of that night, and before a packed jury

¹ Matt. xxvi. 57 simply says that they who had taken Jesus led Him away to Caiaphas. Nothing is said about a 'house,' the insertion of which word in the R.V. is unauthorized and misleading. When the soldiers had delivered their prisoner to the Temple authorities their work was done. Whether delivered to Caiaphas in person or not is immaterial. He was the instigator of the arrest.

² The instances are *vv.* 53, 54, 60, 61, 63 of Mark xiv.

³ Josephus tells us that Annas and his five sons and sons-in-law, all of whom held the High Priesthood in succession, were Sadducees (Acts iv. 6.)

of twenty-three members, the world's darkest deed was done for the accomplishment of man's salvation.

There were seven separate halls or chambers about the Temple. Four of these have their area given to us. Including their walls, as standing upon it, this was a square of 40 cubits, or 48 feet, in each case. Three others, for the size of which no literary proof can be found, were the two Sanhedrin halls and the Beth Moked. To these three, therefore, the draughtsman of the Plan has given the same size as to the others. No difficulty has been found in doing this, and in this way the whole space of the Enclosure is covered without excess and without waste.

CHAPTER XXV

THE TEMPLE OR NAOS: ITS SUBSIDIARY PORTIONS

THE Greek word *naos* when used of Jewish temples is apt to be misleading, as the temples of the two nations were not identical in form, nor were they intended to serve the same secondary purposes. Both were for worship, and in the precincts of each sacrifices were offered; but in the one case the sacrificial meats were carried away to be eaten at home,¹ and in the other they were not so carried, the Passover lambs excepted. The classical usage is for *naos* to mean the chamber or chambers in which the statues of the gods were placed, and *pronaos* to mean the porch or ante-room by which the *Naos* was approached. There were, even in the largest and most famous of the temples of Greece, no such vast atria and mass of halls and chambers as belonged to the Herodian structure. Consequently, when the terms of one language are applied to the buildings of the other, the result is apt to be discordant and confusing. It is so here. In the mouth of a Greek-speaking Hebrew the word *naos* had two significations. It carried, firstly, its Greek meaning, and indicated the two holy chambers only, as it does in Matthew xxiii. 16. More

¹ In 1 Corinthians viii. 10 the word used for an idol's temple is *εἰδώλιον*, and not either *hieron* or *naos*.

commonly, however, its sense was conterminous with all that part of the Temple which, in Hebrew history and legislation, was known as 'most holy,' in contradistinction to 'holy.'¹ This space included the altar with all its belongings, but did not include one of the two worshipping courts. We thus arrive at the topographical conclusion that all the space of the third Temple that lay west of the small priestly *Soreg* (not the larger Gentile one), and north of the *Hieron*, is the portion usually spoken of as the *Naos*.

We take, then, the items of the *Naos*, as the word was usually understood by the Jews, as the subjects of present consideration.

A Hebrew man entering the *Hieron* for purposes of worship—as did the Pharisee in the parable—after crossing Solomon's Portico, would ascend the fourteen steps of the *Soreg*—on one of which he would make his obeisance of thanks to God for liberty of conscience. Passing between two of the inscribed pillars of warning, he would find himself standing on the floor of the Court of Israel (items 89, 95). This was a narrow strip of elevated pavement, with a front of 162 feet in length, and a width of 12 feet only. Its superficial area contained 216 yards, and if we allow standing room for three persons to every square yard of superficies, not so many as seven hundred people could find standing room thereon. A calculation such as this may assist in bringing out the fact that the worship of the Temple was essentially different from anything known to ourselves. Its true example of individual action is contained in the parable already referred to of the two men who went up into the Temple to pray; one of

¹ As in the book of Leviticus *passim*,

these would not be satisfied to proceed till his feet touched the upper surface of the altar platform which projected—beneath a layer of masonry—for this purpose into the Court of Israel. Here he 'stood,' in the most favoured spot on earth, with one outstretched hand so as to touch the base of the altar, in order that the law of contact therewith might be observed.¹ The publican standing 'afar off,' *i.e.* in Solomon's Portico, was not able to see the altar.² It was such blows to superstition and the established order of things as this parable of Jesus that so roused the malignity of the clerical party as to incite them to compass His death.

Immediately to the west of the laymen's court was that of the priests. This was of the same size as the other, but the courts were separated by 'pointed pieces of wood,' *i.e.* by a low continuous railing less than fifteen inches high (*Middoth* ii. 6). The presence of this railing brings out a structural peculiarity not before mentioned. It is that within the Temple there was no admixture of clergy and laity, except in that part of the *Hieron* which lay outside the courts for worship. All priests—whether for duty or not—who went to the Temple entered and left it by the Beth-Moked Gate (No. 4). From thence those who were free of duty might pass to the Priests' Court, as individual worshippers, by ascending ten steps on either side of the altar, where they would be within the line of the inner *Soreg*.

¹ *i.e.* 'Whatsoever [or whosoever] toucheth the altar shall be holy' (Exodus xxix. 37). To this law reference is made in Matt. xxiii. 17, 19, and in Malachi ii. 13.

² The *publicans* were almost always Gentiles, as few Jews could be found to face the odium of collecting Roman taxes from their brethren. Levi, after his call to the apostleship known as Matthew, was one of these exceptions.

The Levites, like the priests, had their own entrance to the Temple. This was the western half of No. 6 gate, the other half being used for the egress of women. Hence its two names of the Gate of the Women and the Gate of Song (*Middoth* ii. 6). Somewhere in the neighbourhood of the fourteen steps of the greater *Soreg* were little chambers, or cupboards, where the Levites placed their instruments of music, which they took out when on their way to the Treasury steps of Song, where the orchestra stood. Possibly these cupboards were under the short flight of steps just within their own gate, by which they ascended to the Court of Israel (*Middoth* ii. 6). By the law of Numbers iv. 20, Levites were not allowed to enter the *Naos*.

One of the most interesting subjects on which we can gain light from these ancient records is the way in which their sacred Scriptures were used for the instruction of the people. No one can thoughtfully read the New Testament without being struck by the fact that not only Christ Himself, but His auditors and opponents also, had a good knowledge of their national literary treasures. How did they get this? Not by having copies of the law and the prophets in every house, but only in every synagogue. Josephus was a priest of good standing among his countrymen till he joined the Romans, yet he refers to his acquirement of a manuscript copy of the Old Testament with a note of triumph, 'I had also the holy books, by Titus' concession' (*Life*, § 75); 'I translated the *Antiquities* out of our sacred books' (*Agt. Apion* i. § 10).

The only way in which, before the invention of printing, a general knowledge of records, many of them a thousand years old, could have been acquired was by

their being publicly read from time to time. Following the instruction of the law itself and the example of Ezra, one of the five books of Moses was read with certain regularity. Josephus does not describe the scene as it was in his day—would that he had done so!—but, recounting the ordinance, he gives a paraphrase of Deuteronomy xxxi. 10 f., which is coloured by contemporary knowledge. In this he tells us that the High Priest¹ stood upon a high desk at every seventh Feast of Tabernacles and read aloud the laws to men, women, children, and even slaves (*Ant.* iv. 8 § 12). *Middoth* comes in here and tells us where the *duchan* or pulpit was placed, from which description may be inferred the place of the congregation. It stood in the Court of the Priests, facing east, and was raised, by five steps, three feet above the level of the court. (*Middoth* ii. 6. See figure on Plan.) Here it faced the great Solomonic Portico,² which we know held six thousand persons—when all stood. Besides these, there were two courts of Hebrew worshippers, with room for between one and two thousand more. There were other vacant spaces within sound of the reader's voice, so that not less than ten thousand persons may have heard the reading of the law at any one session.

The great occasion when this was done was in the autumn, when, the year's harvesting being over, the nation's workers had leisure to attend to divine things.

¹ The *Mishna* records that King Herod Agrippa (41 to 44 A.D.) publicly read the passage Deut. xvii. 14-15, after his accession to the throne of Judah (*Sotah*, vii. 8). The reading of the Scriptures was not then, as it is not now, a wholly priestly function. Agrippa's presence within the limits of the *Naos* is an element in favour of Herod the Great's having established a precedent in his occupation of the oratory.

² Its length being 100 yards and its width 21 yards (items 114, 115), gives a superficies of 2100 square yards, to each of which three persons may be allotted.

If this was the chief it was not the only occasion when such instruction was imparted. The opening of the ministry of Jesus at Nazareth (Luke iv. 17), and the declaration of the President of the first Council at Jerusalem, that Moses, from of old, hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the Synagogues every Sabbath (Acts xv. 21), tell us that the reading or 'preaching' of the Scriptures was a principal part of the Synagogue worship. That this practice was copied from the Temple service admits of no reasonable doubt. Besides the chanting of the special psalms for every day of the week, the numbers of which are known (*Tamid* vii. 4), and the fifteen psalms which were sung daily on every great occasion of a festival (Ps. 120 to 134), there was much Biblical instruction¹ of those to whom Jesus said, 'Ye search the Scriptures, because in them ye think ye have eternal life' (John v. 39). This searching took place, for the most part, in the Temple, and will account for that minute and accurate knowledge of their holy books which the average Jew of our Lord's time possessed. The source and spring of this teaching we have in the pulpit of wood which stood in the Court of the Priests, beside the altar of God, in the Temple of Herod. The Temple discussions as to what was read took place in the Treasury, in one of the rooms of which the sacred books were kept. Here it was that the boy Jesus sat both asking and answering questions when He was twelve years of age.

On three of its sides the platform of the great altar of sacrifice was surrounded by a depressed pavement, lying six feet below the upper surface of the platform.

¹ The fifty-four Sabbath sections, and other divisions of the Hebrew lectionary, are given in Hasting's *Bible Dictionary*, Art. *Bible*. The ten commandments were read every day in Gazith. (Comp. *Tamid* v. 1).

On the fourth or east side the two worshipping courts were built up to a level with this surface, so as to admit of easy access to the altar—it being the inalienable privilege of every Hebrew to touch that holy object at the moment of making his petition ; and thus to identify himself with the great propitiatory work of which it was the scene and symbol.

When, therefore, any worshipper had made his devotions at the altar, if a layman or Levite, he left it by a gateway (unmentioned) which must have marked off the southern termination of the Court of Israel ; if a priest, by passing the ten steps or by descending the incline or slope (items 86, 101) of the altar and passing through the narrow covered way. Each would then ascend the broad steps leading to the Treasury, where there were fewer restraints, and social converse might be engaged in. In doing this the priest would pass beneath an open portico of some twenty-four feet wide. This has already been shown to be a portion of the *Naos* (chap. xxiv.), and was the common lounging-place—no seats being allowed—of those priests who waited for the lots to be cast by the High Priest within Gazith, which should decide as to who should offer incense in the holy chambers. It is mentioned in *Middoth* (v. 2) only as ‘ the place of the pillars.’ The learned John Lightfoot translates the sentence, ‘ The residue of space which was between the rise-and-the-fall (*i.e.* the altar slope) was also a place of low pillars ’ (*Prospect of the Temple*, chap. xxxv).

Passing by these veranda pillars, which hardly obstructed the view of the altar from the south end of the worshipping courts, a visitor going westward would see, on his right hand, the great laver at which the

sacrificing priests washed their feet and their hands from time to time. As Elisha poured water on the hands of Elijah, so was the arrangement here. No man ever dipped his hand into the water of the laver. Eastern good manners forbade this; so that round about this laver, as about the great sea in the Solomonic Temple, were jets which, being opened, allowed the water to gush out. In this way was the laver gradually emptied of its contents, which found their way, a few feet off, into the head of the underground sewer (item 85) that led to the Kidron Valley—to be described further on. It was filled, we may suppose, by hand from a dipping basin in the conduit that brought water,¹ as in Ezekiel's Temple, 'from the right side of the house, on the south of the altar, from under the threshold of the house' (Ezek. xlvii. 1).

Before the visitor now stood the front elevation of the Temple itself; in the rear of which was the *debir*, or most holy place. Its three dimensions being the same and forming that most perfect of geometrical figures, a cube, exercised a dominating influence over the proportions of the whole series of co-ordinate structures. Thus the great altar was made to conform to it by being a cube of 20 cubits. In order to effect this result the five cubits of its platform were included in its height, but not in its breadth. The whole external fabric of the Temple proper was one of 100 cubits, this being the height of the porch, the width of the shoulders, and the depth of the building. The architectural ideal undoubtedly was to make all areas square and all solid bodies cubes.

The approach to the sacred shrine of the Invisible

¹ For the water supply of the Temple see chapter xxviii.

Deity was a noble one. Not only did its amplitude witness to the spaciousness of the thoughts of those who built it, but the upper surface of these steps was the chief scene of some of the most important functions of the priesthood. Here the High Priest stood when he blessed the people. Here the priests, with silver trumpets, continually blew blasts while the burnt-offering was being consumed (Num. x. 10). Here, according to the prophet Joel (ii. 17), was the ordinary place where the assembled priests made their intercessory prayers for the nation. Here the signal was similarly given for the people to prostrate themselves at the end of the reading of every section of the Law (*Tamid* vi. § 3). In the Book of Psalms the use of the word *Selah* may indicate this.

Owing to the intimate connection between the ideas represented by the *Naos* chambers and the altar—in the former of which dwelt Jehovah, and at the latter of which stood His suppliants—it was determined that this relation should be embodied in stone, so as to be visible to all. As, therefore, the platform of the altar was 50 cubits in breadth (item 70), so was also the breadth of the Temple steps 50 cubits. Similarly the top of the altar was a square of 20 cubits.

The whole space between the outer wall of the Temple porch and the elevation of the altar platform was 22 cubits (items 66 ff.) ; so that the space for allocation was the same on the west of the altar as on its east, where were the praying courts. In the latter case the width of the two worshipping courts with their partitions was 11 cubits each ; and in the former were seven steps, each of a cubit in width, and three landings covering 10 additional cubits. Five cubits of the 22

remain; these it was determined to throw into a passage-way for the priests, so that in the performance of their duties they might with more ease than heretofore pass from one side of the altar to the other side. Hitherto the rule had been imperative that no priest might pass between the Temple and the altar, and all sacrificial meats were carried behind the altar, *i.e.* to its east, to their place, whether in the kitchens of the outer court or to be placed above the altar fires. The arrangements in earlier use may be seen developed in Ezekiel's Temple Plan in the author's *Second Temple in Jerusalem*. This awkward but reverential method it was now decided to alter, and a narrow way was provided by which all meats issued from the slaughtering place on the north of the altar might be carried to their destination by the shortest and most direct route.

This six-foot passage-way between the steps and the altar also served another and more important purpose. Adjoining its breadth ran that conduit of fresh water which laved the foot of the altar platform, and into the stream of which the blood of the sacrificial victims was poured. The horizontal surface of the altar base was marked by a red line six feet above the datum pavement. Above this height a few drops of uncoagulated blood were sprinkled from all burnt-offerings and sin-offerings. The rest of the still warm blood was passed into the running water that flowed constantly in the conduit at the foot of the platform. The blood of all other offerings was lightly sprinkled on the side of the platform below the red line, and the remainder passed into the conduit. The width of this conduit was one cubit, leaving four others for the tread of human feet. As in Ezekiel's Temple Plan, the water conduit at the

foot of the altar was reckoned as a part of the altar itself.¹ Its one cubit of width on the north and west sides were counted as being within the limits of, and formed part of, the 50 cubits square of which, according to Josephus, the Herodian altar platform consisted (item 70). The writers of *Middoth*, however, forgetfully say that the 'foundation extended all along the northern and western sides, but was shortened a cubit on the south and on the east' (*Middoth* iii. 1). They evidently regretted that the symmetry of the masonry should not have been completed by an additional cubit of stonework on these two sides. Such a structural ideal is testimony at once to the sincerity and general correctness of their ideas, but it is nothing else. They evidently wrote when the Temple was no more. A sentence in the Talmud tells us that the great altar was lime-washed every week, limestone being plentiful in Palestine.

Ascending the three stages of which the Temple steps consisted, one stood on a great platform before the outer veil that screened the entrance into the porch.² According to Josephus, there were two complete and separate sets of curtains to this principal door of the Temple. In the *War* he tells of the 'Babylonian curtain, embroidered with blue and fine linen (white) and scarlet and purple' (item 49): which 'purple veils of the sanctuary,' he afterwards says, were 'transferred to the royal palace in Rome' (*War* vii. 5 § 7). In the *Antiquities*, he adds that, as in the

¹ Comp. *The Second Temple in Jerusalem*, p. 41.

² This entrance was not of a uniform breadth. The statement of Josephus in *War* (item 47) can be reconciled with that in *Against Apion* (item 46) only by having the walls bevelled, thus harmonising with the windows, which were 'broad within and narrow without' in each of the Temples (1 Kings vi. 4).

Tabernacle, there was, in each of the Temples, ' a linen veil drawn over the entrances, which could be drawn this way or that, by cords and rings, so that when the weather was inclined to snow it might be drawn close and afford a covering to the veil of divers colours ' (*Ant.* iii. 6 § 4 ; cp. xv. II § 3).

If we imagine ourselves as passing beyond these veils and standing within the *pronaos*, we should be in a lofty hall (item 48) whose floor measurements were 11 cubits in width (item 17), and in length a measure determined by its open entrance of 20 cubits (item 46). These 20 cubits were the width of the holy chambers within. The entrance hall could be neither narrower nor wider than were they, because its walls were required to be built up to form the lofty tower promised by Herod. As, however—it was a favourite comparison of the Jews—the Temple was like a lion, narrow behind and broad in front, this simile was founded upon reality, we have to admit the evidence of items 26 and 38, that the ' shoulders ' of the house projected 15 cubits on each side beyond the main building. These 15 cubits are given on the Plan, on the north, to a small room in which were kept the knives and other instruments used in slaughtering (*Middoth* iv. 7) : and on the south to a corresponding store-room which does not find mention in any authority. The Temple lamps may have been kept here.

Between these two store-rooms and the entrance hall, or *pronaos*, were spaces where the Temple treasuries stood. These strong-rooms were of a very limited size, as may be seen on the Plan, and their contents were of great though fluctuating value. At the time of the Temple's fall, but before it happened, the keeper of these rooms

was a priest named Phineas, who, with another named Joshua, purchased their life and freedom by delivering to Titus the following, 'from the wall of the holy house':—

'Two golden candlesticks; a golden table or tables; a number of golden bowls and drinking cups; together with many clerical vestments; much purple and scarlet woollen yarn for veils; great deal of cassia, cinnamon, and other spice for making incense' (*War* vi. 8 § 3).

Nothing is said of the fate of the golden vine which overhung the front of the Temple oratory (items 50–8). A figure of a previous vine had been given to Pompey by Aristobulus as a bribe. Josephus quotes Strabo as saying that he saw this vine in the Temple of Jupiter, at Rome, where it was valued at 500 talents (*Ant.* xiv. 3 § 1). Its place was taken by another, provided by public donations, of separate leaves, berries, or tendrils (*Middoth* iii. 8). This vine it was—the collection of nearly one hundred years—beneath which the words were spoken, 'I am the true Vine' (*John* xv. 1).

It was probably the endeavour to save this trophy from destruction that in part prompted the frantic but futile efforts of Titus to prevent the burning of the Temple (*War* vi. 4 § 6).

CHAPTER XXVI

THE TEMPLE OR NAOS (*continued*)

ITS ALTAR AND SACRIFICIAL SYSTEM

WHEN it is realized that the precincts of the Jewish Temples were originally the chief though not sole slaughtering-place of the nation (Deut. xii. 15), and that such, with modifications, they remained during the whole of the theocracy, a feeling of repulsion and disgust insensibly creeps over us. We are apt to identify them with the butchers' shambles of to-day, and to feel thankful that we are no longer called upon to take part in such worship. Gratitude, however evoked, is a beautiful thing, but there are some considerations that may tend to mitigate at once the disgust and the thankfulness of the modern humanitarian. In the first place, all the arrangements for the slaughter of animals were such as have never been surpassed, if equalled, in any time or place. A plentiful supply of running water was considered to be of the first importance. This was secured in the face of enormous local difficulties, as the site of Jerusalem is one of the most arid places in the world where a famous city has been built. The sources and means of its supply are given elsewhere. Here we may assume that a great aqueduct reached the platform of the Temple from the west. This was

carried on the old wall that crossed the Tyropœan Valley at Wilson's Arch, the pipes conveying it enabling the water to reach a bath-room that stood over the little porch inside the Water Gate (gate No. 3). The Rabbis say the water was conveyed to this point 'by means of a conduit which came from the fountain Etham' (*Middoth* v. 3, *note*). This bath-room was some 10 or 12 feet above the level of the paved floor on which the altar stood. There was thus no difficulty in directing a stream of water into each of the two subways that ran beneath the Temple foundation, or platform. One of these streams, namely that to the north, reached the base of the altar, while that on the south supplied the laver with its contents. Both streams disappeared into a sewer, the opening into which was covered by a marble slab—probably with slits in it for the entrance of the water—in which a lifting ring was fixed¹ (*Middoth* iii. 3). The other end of this sewer has been discovered, at a level of 2347 feet,² near the rock which underlies Solomon's Stables. This outlet was formerly called the Single Gate, but it is now known, from examination, to have been the blood passage from the altar, and may be seen figured in Warren's plan of Mount Moriah opposite page 876 in Murray's *Illustrated Bible Dictionary*.

A curious confirmation of this piece of recovered topography is to be found in the Rabbinical commentary on *Middoth* iii. 2, that the mixture of water and blood which flowed from the altar to the Kidron

¹ This could not have been used as a manhole for the purposes of cleaning the pit under the Altar, as is suggested in *Middoth* iii. 3, because the slab was one cubit, or less than 15 inches, square.

² This is nearly 100 feet below the level of the ground around the Sakhrah, which is given as 2440 feet above the level of the Mediterranean.

Valley was bought by gardeners with which to manure their soil.

This abundance of water, running in conduits on and above the level of the court where animals were slaughtered in sacrifice, was the unfailing means of its cleanliness and daily purification.

Another element in mitigation of the natural horror felt at the sight of flowing blood was the fact that only lambs and such-like small cattle were slaughtered within the Enclosure walls, and that, of their blood, care was taken that not one drop should fall upon the marble pavement of the court. To effect this iron rings were fastened to staples in the ground, which rings were horse-shoe shaped, so that the neck of the beast being introduced into the half circle, every drop of the flowing blood being caught in a golden bowl was conveyed to the altar, where it was emptied into the current of water—a few drops having first been sprinkled on the altar side.

Other arrangements, all evincing the same careful planning, were made for the orderly and cleanly carrying out of the sacrificial ritual. These items need not be elaborated. Their mention may be sufficient, it being understood that all are drawn from authentic sources of knowledge. They comprised:—

- ' 1. Marble tables, upon which the skinning was done.
2. Pillars with cedar wood tops, for cutting up the carcases.
3. Hooks, in three rows, for suspending the limbs.
4. An open chamber, or shed, for washing the offal.
5. A salt room.
6. A storage room for skins, which were afterwards sold ' (*Middoth* iii. 5 and v. 3).

Connected with this portion of the Temple activities was a special wicket-gate by which all the refuse from the scene of sacrifice, as well as the ashes from the great altar, were carried out. It lay conveniently near, and was called the Gate of Casting Forth (gate No. 11). It is the Shallecheth of 1 Chronicles xxvi. 16.

In each of the three Temples the same law of observance as to 'the place of the ashes, beside the altar on the east part' (Lev. i. 16), was maintained, and in each of them was a gate corresponding to this one on the plan of the Herodian Temple. It is unlikely that the name or use should have been changed, though one of its earlier uses, as the gate for the entry of the High Priest, was discontinued when the Beth Moked was built as the common entrance and ante-room of priests.

Of three chambers which stood in the angle to the north of the Temple proper, one was known as the Chamber Parvah. It was that in which the wet skins were salted down for future use or sale. Over this room was another, used as a bath-room, similar to that over the gate porch at No. 3 gate, and similarly supplied with water. Here the High Priest immersed his body five separate times on the great Day of Atonement, and whenever he changed his garments. Access to it was by a stairway in the adjoining shed or chamber.

Here also stood the Beth Moked or House of Stoves. This is one of the most interesting, because one of the most human, portions of the Temple annexes. Its main position we know to a nicety, as it was built around one of the three gates in the north wall, which were placed at equal distances from one another (*Ant.* xv. 11 § 6). Its number on the Plan is 4.

This wide thoroughfare into the Temple, for the accommodation of priests only, was flanked on either side by small chambers, the presence of which required that doors or small gates should be built in the outer walls of the Beth Moked—not the Temple Enclosure wall—one to the south and one to the north. Of these, one opened upon the Court of the Priests beside the Temple, and the other upon the *Chel* or terrace that surrounded the whole enclosure. The former had a small wicket by which the priests went in to sweep the court. The fact that Titus did not choose the Beth Moked as one of the points of his attack for the battering-rams to play upon shows that this building must have been one of considerable strength and solidity. It had a vaulted roof.

The safety of the Temple being secured at this point by its great brazen gate, we have to note the existence of four closets below the arched roof of the Beth Moked, which are described as opening like small bed-chambers upon a dining apartment, or *triclinium* (*Middoth* i. 6).

The uses to which these little rooms were put are known to us. Of those in the consecrated ground of the Temple court, one was called the Lamb-room, because there, for several days before being offered, the lambs that formed the daily morning and evening burnt-sacrifice were kept under observation. The other was named 'the room of those that prepared the [twelve loaves of] shewbread,' presented every Sabbath.

These sacrificial offerings of both kinds, being in the eye of the law 'most holy,' fittingly had their place in the more honourable portion of the Beth Moked, namely that within the wall of the 'Ir Enclosure.

Of the two rooms without the great gate, one was

used as a store-room for the stones of the great altar that Antiochus Epiphanes had profaned ; the evidence of the Mishna upon this point being confirmed by the illustrative remarks of the First Book of Maccabees (chap. ii., verse 25 ; v. 44).

The other of the two outer rooms (*i.e.* the one in the north-west corner) has a certain topographical interest, as it was used as the entrance to the Bath House. The route taken by any priest who for ceremonial reasons required its use is thus described : ' He went out [of the Temple] and had to go by the gallery that went under the *Chel*, and lights were burning on either side, till he came to the Bath House ' (*Middoth* i. § 9).

The north-west chamber of Beth Moked is further stated to have been the entrance where ' they *went down* to the Bath House ' (*Middoth* i. § 6). This was its only use, and from this we may gather that here was the entrance, by steps, into the underground gallery that led to the Bath House (*S.W.P.*, vol. i., p. 218).

Hardly any uncertainty exists as to Sir Charles Warren's identification of tank No. 3 with the gallery that led to the Bath House ; or that the two side chambers to its west were the Bath House itself and the drying-room attached to it (*Tamid*, chap. i.).

It will thus be seen that when circumstances allow of the removal of the walls which have been built in these tanks and of the further exploration of the underground passage or tank, its southern termination will fix the point where the stairs led down to the gallery, and will determine the site of the north-west chamber of the Beth Moked—and so of the whole Temple.

Till that time comes all that can be done is con-

jecturally to draw a continuation of the gallery to the point at which it leads toward the Temple in its relation to the present Plan. This has been done, with results that will speak for themselves—it being understood that the key to the entire system of Herod's Temple is here taken to be the Sakhrāh Rock, to the configuration and position of which everything else has been made to conform.

There are nowhere any indications of the size of the Beth Moked. We are told that it was 'a great house,' and was surrounded with stone divans on which the senior priests rested (*Middoth* i § 8). These divans could not have run round the four bays, for obvious reasons of preoccupation, and must therefore have flanked on either side the through passage-way. Here likewise would be placed the stove or stoves of charcoal-burning fires, around which the priests, young and old, and the Levites gathered. The Levites were not allowed to pass over the threshold which led into the Temple, for when the elder priest, whose duty it was to lock the Temple doors and gates, went in on this duty he closed the great centre gates of the Beth Moked from the inside, and the Levites had to sleep without.

In the uncertainty as to the area covered by the Beth Moked it has been placed on the Plan as if it were of the same size as the six halls whose dimensions are known to us. These were squares of 40 cubits each, with an internal measurement of 30 cubits, or 36 feet.

Besides the uniformity required by the laws of Hebrew art in having these seven halls of the same size, there are further recommendations in favour of this having been so. The arrangement, indicated above, will give to each of the four side chambers of the

Beth Moked an average interior area of 9 by 11 cubits,¹ with a great hall running between them of 12 feet in breadth and 36 feet in length. This last was the Beth Moked proper—divided by its great gate into two parts.

The gate nearest to the Beth Moked, numbered 5, has a special interest for the historian and the archaeologist, as it is the one at which the Romans partially succeeded in their attack on the Temple Enclosure. Their battering-rams having failed in many days to make any impression on the 8-cubit walls on their western side, the soldiers undermined the foundations of one of the northern gates and removed some of its outer stones, but the gate was upheld by the inner stones (*War* vi. 4 § 1). Such is the testimony of an eyewitness, whose training and sympathies as a Jewish priest added keenness to his vision as to each step by which the resistance of his countrymen was overcome in their defence of the Temple. He goes on to describe, with sympathetic minuteness, the progress of the assault, and in doing so gives unconscious evidence in favour of the Temple Plan as here conceived.

'Despairing of all attempts,' he tells us, to force an entrance here by means of battering-rams and crow-bars, 'the workmen brought up ladders to the porticoes.' Above and about these porticoes the battle raged furiously—the attack being ultimately repelled. Nowhere but at gate No. 5 was there an external portico or porticoes to any entrance to the Enclosure. Here was that slaughter-house of the Temple where the larger beasts were killed. As in the second Temple,²

¹ On the Plan the chambers without the wall are 12 × 9 c., and those within the wall are 10 × 9 c. in superficies.

² Comp. *The Second Temple in Jerusalem*, 1908, pp. 310-11.

so here, a large covered shed stood outside the Gate of Living Offerings, beneath the roof of which the larger animals were slaughtered. It was at this point that a partial breach was made by Titus, to be followed by the lighting of fires which burned the gates and so gave admission to the conquerors. In this way alone was the priestly party vanquished, and Josephus notes, with lingering regret, the melting of the silver plates with which the gates were covered, the silver lying about in heaps amid the debris.

In the paragraph in which he mentions this waste, allusion is made to those small gate-houses or porticoes which, as in the removed Temple, stood within four of the principal gates of the Enclosure—Nos. 3, 5, 6, 12. Three of these were outer gates, and from the wood of the gates themselves the fire spread till the inner small porticoes were caught. The sanctuary itself was not on fire, and the burning of Solomon's Portico and of those forming the outer Temple is recorded elsewhere. So that in *War* vi. 4 § 2 we have Josephus' only mention of these small but elegant additions to several of the Temple gates. His remark about them is that in twenty-four hours the soldiers were not able to do more than partially burn these small porticoes, as the fire did not reach them until their outer gates were consumed. These 'Porches of the Gate' were a structural continuation of those in the second Temple, mentioned in *Ezekiel* xl. 8, but of twice the size. (Cp. *The Second Temple in Jerusalem*, pp. 305-6, 366, items 9, 10.) The one of them at No. 3 gate is mentioned in *Matthew* xxvi. 71 as being the place where Peter took refuge in order that the light falling on his face from the charcoal fire should not lead to his recognition.

The Great Altar.—This was the actual centre of all Jewish worship, a fact to which Jesus referred when He said : ' If thou art offering thy gift at the altar, and there remembereth that thy brother hath aught against thee ; leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way ; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift ' (Matt. v. 23, 24).

The size of the altar, together with its relation to the Temple to which it belonged is given in items 70-84, and shows that it was a structure with an enormous platform of 60 feet square, lying within the boundary of the *Naos*.

Upon this platform were built several square stages of diminishing sizes, like the *Ziggurats* of the Babylonians. These stages numbered five, which with the platform below and the actual altar above made seven. This was the number in use in Babylonia.¹

This conformity to idolatrous architecture was, however, balanced by two structural particulars that marked the whole edifice of the altar as an appanage of the *Naos*, within which it stood. One of these was the making of the platform a square of 50 cubits, as 50 cubits was the breadth of the platform steps before the Temple. Another and a more striking coincidence was the making the first stage above the platform a square of 32 cubits, as 32 cubits was the external width of the holy chambers that were behind the screen of the porch. These chambers had the immemorial width of 20 cubits interior measurement. To this must be added the thickness of their walls on either side, which added 12 cubits. From this 32 cubits measure of the

¹ See reconstruction Plan of the *Birs-Nimroud* in *The Tabernacle*, 1906, p. 228.

base as a datum, the stages rose a cubit less on every side, until 20 cubits was reached, which was the outside measure of the true altar, as of the cube forming the Holy of Holies. This consisted of two parts: to the hearthstone was given a depth of a single cubit, and to the altar itself, as of old, a depth, or height, of 3 cubits.¹ In the middle of these three ordinary cubits ($3\frac{2}{3}$ ft.) rested on ledges a brass grating. Below this grating the fires burned, and above it the burnt-offerings were consumed to smoke.² Hence may have been the frequent allusions in the Psalms to smoke as being the emblem of the wicked: 'Like smoke shall they consume away'; 'As smoke is driven away, so drive them away.' The underlying idea here evidently is that the penitent's guilt was transferred to his sacrifice, and disappeared as its smoke disappeared. With the impenitent it was not so. They themselves were to disappear as did the smoke of the true sacrifice.

¹ Three cubits was the unalterable height of every Jewish altar. For that of Moses see *The Tabernacle*, p. 179; for that of Solomon see *Solomon's Temple*, p. 62; for that of Zerubbabel see *The Second Temple*, pp. 46, 367. Where they differed was in the substructions which supported them, which were constantly raised.

² The archaic names were—the hearthstone, *Ariel*; the actual altar, *Harel*; while the space for the reception of the sacrificial meats was known as 'the bosom' (Ezek. xliii. 13-17).

CHAPTER XXVII

THE TEMPLE OR NAOS (*continued*)

THE HOLY CHAMBERS

THE innermost chamber, or *debir*, was the promised dwelling-place of Jehovah, and therefore the *Naos* proper, from which all its associate buildings derived their sacredness. Into this sacred spot no one entered—the High Priest excepted, who on one day in each year offered propitiatory blood there—until Pompey the Great. In 63 B.C. he entered the Holy of Holies, together with the members of his staff, but removed nothing of its contents. No ark of the covenant was there nor any visible glory, but only ‘two thousand talents of sacred money.’ A cynic might be tempted to draw moral inferences from this—we will not do so (*Ant.* xiv. 4 § 4; *War* i. 7 § 6).

A few months later Crassus—one of the triumvirate that then governed the Empire—carried off the two thousand talents and also all the hidden store of gold in the Temple. The storage of these treasures in the very Holy of Holies, on which point Josephus is explicit, shows that the old fear and dread of entering the dark *adytum* of Israel’s God no longer existed. Its air-space was an unlighted cube of 24 feet every way, and was entered by a doorway closed by a heavy curtain. This curtain it was which was torn ‘from the

top to the bottom ' at the moment of the sacred death (Matt. xxvii. 51).

To the east of this holiest place of all was a chamber consisting of two cubes each of 24 feet. This was the holy place, or *Hekal*, and, as the writer of *Hebrews* points out, was of lesser dignity than the other. ' The priests went continually into the first Tabernacle . . . but into the second the High Priest alone ' (Heb. ix. 6, 7). Here stood the golden candlestick, always lighted. Two such are specified by Josephus (*War* vi. 8 § 3), which were, perhaps, all the Temple possessed. From the bas-relief representation of the arch of Titus we know that there was also a golden table of small proportions—on which the shewbread was placed—and certain bowls of gold, with silver trumpets. The idea of reverence for this outer chamber, too, had so far declined that it had now become the common storehouse for spices and dyed yarn for the making of incense and the veils.

A further indication of lapse in the severity of the old régime is given in the fact that the High Priest no longer, as in the ancient days, always offered the incense on the golden altar that stood within this chamber (Exod. xxx. 8). This was now done by a priest chosen by lot each day, and no priest might have this honour more than once in his ministry (*Tamid* v., vi.). This throws light upon the providence of Zacharias' choice, in Luke i. 8 ff., where the casting of the ' lot ' is mentioned.

Both these chambers were lined with wood and gilded throughout, except in the small spaces behind the doors (items 39-42), which were not seen when the

leaves were thrown back (*Middoth* iv. 1). Their decorations were far inferior to those of the earlier Temples, the interiors of which were carved in low relief. There had been in this respect a gradual decline in artistic reverence from the time of Solomon. The interior of his Temple was most elaborately carved and gold-plated. That of Zerubbabel was carved indeed, but much less so than its predecessor. That of Herod had no carving, but was gilded only.

An attempt was indeed made to give architectural dignity to the building, but it was an attempt prompted by a desire to win admiration and not to express humility and love. This was carried out by adding to the external height of the central *Naos*. Hitherto the *Naos* had stood on the ground floor, its squat appearance being hidden behind a lofty tower or porch. To alter the proportions of the two holy chambers was an act of impiety from which the priests shrank. An interior height of 20 cubits was an inviolable figure. It did not, however, seem that any objection could be had to building an *aliyah*, or upper story, to the rooms, so that their exterior height should be doubled, while they themselves retained their traditional size. This accordingly was done, and Josephus, who was familiar with this fact, makes the mistake of supposing that Solomon's Temple had similar upper rooms (*Ant.* viii. 3 § 2). It is, however, possible that his words were written to cover and excuse the action of the builders of Herod's Temple in making this addition. Here no doubt as to the fact can exist, as is shown by the series of measurements given in Appendix I. The earlier of these, taken from *Middoth*, gives its three dimensions—height (items 1-14),

length (items 15-24), and breadth (items 25-38)—but the first of these being outside measures does not give the interior height of the holy chambers, though their length and width are intended in the other two. Their height is given in item 61 on the joint authority of Josephus and *Middoth* : while the joint height of the chamber and the *aliyah* air spaces is said to be 40 cubits (*War* v. 5 § 5).

The evidence for an *aliyah* is to be gathered from a general consideration of the whole specification. In one particular a discrepancy seems to exist between Josephus and *Middoth* as to one of these elevations—but ‘seems’ only.

His language in *War* v. 5 § 5 is obscure, and may be understood in one of two senses, but the meaning is fixed in *Middoth* iv. 5, as is shown in the later pages of this chapter.

No doubt, therefore, can remain as to Josephus’ 60 cubits being the external height of the two sacred chambers, with that of their gabled roof (items 2-7 with *note*, and 59-64).

The duplication of the height of the walls of the holy chambers did not carry with it relief from the obligation of putting the lowest series of priests’ rooms in the basement or foundation, where they were used as refectories for the consumption of the most holy things. This had been done in each of the preceding Temples, and, though inconvenient, was now thought to be compulsory. Tradition and precedent were too strong to be overcome. These rooms could not be built with interiors of less than 6 feet high, or 5 cubits, which with the cubit allowed, as heretofore, for their stone roof, fixes the height of the foundation platform at 6

cubits, or $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet. This is a matter of some importance to determine, as the height of the foundation in the porch was but 5 cubits, and it would be necessary to have the lowest tier of side chambers of the same vertical measure now as before. For this practical reason the old order was retained and the precedent of former times followed (items 2 and 43), there being no priestly chambers beside the porch.

Above the lowest tier of priests' rooms were two other tiers. Nowhere is there given in figures the height of these upper tiers of rooms. Items 30, 34, 43 to 45 give their width. Their length may be calculated from that of the core around which they were built ; their height is matter of structural calculation. It may be arrived at by a consultation of the vertical measures of the Temple as given in *Middoth* (items 1 to 14). The 100 cubits of which its height consisted was divided into two equal portions, though a little uncertainty exists as to a single cubit of each of the fifties. *Below*, this uncertainty arises from not knowing whether to include the sixth cubit of the foundation, or not to do so. *Above*, it arises from the fact of not knowing whether or not to include the combing or set of spikes on the top of the tower, which was a cubit high. We shall hardly be wrong if we take the division of the 100 to have been a perfect one, and allocate 50 cubits as the height from the ground to the top of the side chambers and galleries, and 50 others as the height thence to top of Temple porch.

The acceptance of this set of figures carries with it the corollary that each of the upper tiers of priests' rooms was 20 cubits in height,¹ 24 feet. Such is the

¹ Thus made up—stylobate 6, chambers 20, ceiling and floor 2, chambers 20, roof 2, total 50—which is one less than that of the Mishna.

total figure for both tiers of item 3 in the specification, but this means that the Rabbis, in giving 5 cubits to the roofage, lumped together the floor and ceiling that was between the tiers and the roof above them. Separated they would read :—

Carved and gilded beams of priests' rooms,			
middle tier . . . . .	.	.	1 c.
Upper rafters and floor of same . . . . .	.	.	1 c.
			<hr/>
Total . . . . .	.	.	2 c.

<i>Roof.</i> Upper beams of top tier . . . . .	.	.	1 c.
Roof battens of same . . . . .	.	.	1 c.
Cement plaster of same . . . . .	.	.	1 c.
			<hr/>

Total, as specified in items 4 to 7 . . . 5 c.

The roofs of these side chambers, with that of their attendant galleries, was, of course, a flat surface with a slight incline to carry off the rainfall. Between that one of them which lay to the north of the holy chambers and that one which lay to their south rose the gabled roof of the chambers themselves. It had been a principle of the resting-place of Jehovah from the days of the Wilderness life that the tent-like construction above His throne should be at an angle of ninety degrees. This peculiarity of the Bedaween tent was not reproduced in the last of the Temples, and an obtuse-angled roof in its sloping sides rose for 10 cubits, or 12 feet, above the level of the flat roof on either of its sides (*War* v. 5 § 2 ; cp. items 59-64). It marks the declining sense of reverence for Jehovah's name in the builders of Herod's day that they did not retain this

projecting angle, though they placed it out of sight, behind the porch, where it protected from sun and rain the dark *adytum* of the Holy of Holies and the ever-lighted chamber, where the golden candelabra with its seven lamps continually burned.

While we have this dual form of architecture before us—the slope of the Arab tent and flat roof of the Eastern house—it may be convenient to accompany the Rabbis of *Middoth* in an imaginary journey which they say (iv. 5) might have been made by one who travelled from the north-east outside corner of the Temple till he should arrive in the very Holy of Holies. Entering the building at the wicket there—which was one of the five openings specified in *Middoth* iv. 3, and shown in the Plan—the visitor traversed a long subterranean gallery which ran under the platform and was used for drainage purposes (item 28). In this gallery was a long flight of stone steps which led, through a trap-door, to the flat roof of the priests' rooms. Progress was now easy, first along the western end of the Temple, and then eastward, still along the flat, until the visitor arrived at a door in the sloping roof, which door 'opened to the south.' Entering this door, the visitor would find himself facing one of the attics which was over the two spare rooms of the *aliyah* story. Near the door was a ladder, descending which the floor of the *aliyah* was reached. Here was a low railing, which showed the division between one holy chamber and the other. A trap-door in the floor gave unusual admission to the Holy of Holies. This was used solely by an attendant priest for sweeping the chamber. The value of the paragraph, of which this is a modern paraphrase, lies in the fact that it may be

taken to prove that the *Naos* proper of Herod's Temple had a gabled roof, and that it was surrounded by rooms and galleries that had flat roofs.

The priestly rooms numbered thirty-eight (items 43-5). Of these, fifteen were placed, in three stories, on either side of the *Naos*. These thirty chambers had a total length of 78 feet on the north and south sides, the interior walls against which they were built being 67 cubits long, or 80½ feet (items 19-22). They were divided from one another by curtains only, with passages out of one into another, the entrance to each set of rooms being from gates standing behind the treasuries of the *Pronaos* (*War* v. 5 § 5 and *Middoth* iv. § 3). Of the thirty-eight, twenty-four were long enough to hold divans for three sleepers, and fourteen for two sleepers, giving to each one of a hundred sleepers six feet of room. Eight of the rooms stood to the west of the Temple. Neither of the earlier Temples had accommodation here, and their builders would have been appalled at the idea of placing their fellow-men in such close proximity to the Chariot of the Shechinah (1 Chron. xxviii. 18). In Herodian times this manifestation of the Divine presence was a mere tradition, and the claims of utility triumphed. Accordingly rooms were built which could accommodate 100 persons, if there were no upper bunks, and if the two upper rooms to the west were of the smaller size.

Ezekiel had instituted sets of galleries on either side of the *Naos*, to be used as beats for the Temple police. These are shown in an illustration in the volume on *The Second Temple*, p. 353. They were of the uniform width of 3 feet, and had lattice windows from which

complete surveys of the whole neighbourhood were had. These galleries were reproduced in the Herodian building, of the same size as those in Ezekiel's specification (items 27, 28, 36, 37), and served the same purpose as that for which he had designed them. One of the four lattices on the north side of the Sanctuary,¹ through which the priests' eyes had often looked, has the sad association for the three worlds of Judaism, Moslemism, and Christianity that there the fire began which consumed the Temple. Let Josephus tell the story of his nation's humiliation :—

' One of the soldiers, without staying for any orders, and without any horror at so great a crime—being possessed by a certain weird fury—snatched a brand out of the wood that was on fire [*i.e.* at a neighbouring gate] and being lifted up by another soldier, set fire to a golden [gilded] window through which there was a passage to the rooms round the Sanctuary on the north side. . . . The flame had not yet reached the inner parts of the Temple, but was consuming the rooms round the Sanctuary . . . when a soldier put fire under the hinges of the gate in the dark [*i.e.* the gate between the porch and the holy place, as there was no other interior gate], and the flame burst out from within. . . . Thus was the Temple burnt down ' (*War* vi. 4 § 5, 6).

¹ The fact of the cubit being used as a whole measure wherever practicable puts us into possession of this number. The exterior wall being 79 c. in length gave five spaces each of 15 c., and to each window 1 c., broadening inwards.

NOTE ON A SUBWAY TO THE NAOS

Josephus says that, at the fall of Jerusalem, the rebel leader, Simon, let himself down into a certain subterraneous cavern and went along it till he was able to emerge from it in the place where the Temple had formerly been (*War* vii. 2 § 1). The earliest modern and scientific survey of the Haram was made in 1833 by Catherwood. (It is given in Bartlett's *Walks about Jerusalem*, 2nd edition, pp. 148-65.) On one point Catherwood is an indispensable witness, for, since his time, the guardians of the *Qubbet es Sakhrāh* have covered up a certain well, which therefore is no longer visible. In Catherwood's time this well was shown to him in a porch of the west door which stood about 40 feet from the west face of the Sakhrāh. If Herod the Great had a private subway into the oratory of the Temple it would have opened into the Temple porch at about this distance from the Sakhrāh. No reference to Catherwood's well is to be found in the *Survey of Western Palestine* nor in the writings of other archæologists. Besides this west door there are three others at the other cardinal points of the Dome of the Rock, and all of them had, in Catherwood's time, enclosed porches of marble.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE TEMPLE WATER SUPPLY

JERUSALEM is situate in an arid district of hard limestone formation. It has only one natural spring in its neighbourhood, the '*ain Umm ed Deraj*', the Spring of Steps, also known as the Virgin's Fountain. It is the Gihon of 1 Kings i. 33, 38, 45, and the En-rogel of Joshua xv. 7 and xviii. 16.

The existence and position of this permanent but intermittent source of water supply has had a dominant effect on the history of the city since its founding by the Jebusites and their predecessors. It determined the position of Millo, the 'stronghold' of 1 Chronicles xi. 8, which was built to overlook and protect it. The 'watercourse' of 2 Samuel v. 8, by which Joab entered the city, was probably a secret water-passage from the spring westward, which brought its water to a reservoir within the walls. These ancient works are now well known. From this source water for Solomon's Temple would be at first obtained, by a series of steps cut in the rock, from the foot of which buckets were let down into the reservoir below, and drawn up by means of a wheel. It was a consequence of this primitive and defective supply that the many tanks in the Haram area were cut which are still found there. These were used for the storage of rain water, and it is com-

puted that they are capable of holding ten million gallons.

The next known stage in the evolution of a better water supply for the Temple was made in the reign of Hezekiah. In order to anticipate the Assyrian invasion of 713 B.C. he 'stopped the upper spring of the waters of Gihon, and brought them straight down on [*i.e.* to] the west side of the city of David' (2 Chron. xxxii. 30). The rock-cut aqueduct referred to in this passage was discovered in 1880, which, together with the course of the secret passage above referred to, may be seen described in Sir Charles Warren's sketch map of Jerusalem, opposite page 400 of Murray's *Illustrated Bible Dictionary*. The pool of Siloam, fed by this aqueduct, is one of the best known spots in Jerusalem. It was outside the ancient city wall, but the waters were made accessible to the inhabitants of the city by a rock-cut shaft and a long flight of stone steps that led down to it from the Temple hill. These 'stairs' passed by the citadel of Millo on Ophel, and are referred to in the account of the murder of Joash, King of Judah, 853-814 (2 Kings xii. 20). They were also pressed by the feet of Ezra and his band of dedicators in 432 B.C. (Neh. xii. 37). Traces of them have been discovered of late running the whole length of Ophel from the Double Gate to a point near the pool of Siloam. By them, without doubt, water was carried for Temple uses by the Nethinim and Temple slaves for some generations.

In 2 Chronicles xxxii. we have two accounts of Hezekiah's action in the defence of Jerusalem by concealing its sources of water-supply. That in the latter part of the chapter, verse 30, has already been

referred to as descriptive of the rock-cut subterranean connection between Gihon and the pool of Siloam.¹ This is given as a postscript to the fuller and more regular account, and was evidently written later, when the work was completed and found to be successful. The earlier account (*vv.* 3, 4) states that, after consultation with his princes, Hezekiah determined 'to stop the waters of the fountains which were without the city.' Among these, or rather as contributed to by them, was 'the brook that flowed through the midst of the land.' This is also named Gihon (gushing) in 2 Chronicles xxxiii. 14, and is described as lying 'in the valley,' which led to the Fish Gate. In both these passages the Tyropœan Valley is meant. That this valley, now partially filled with debris and without other water than that of surface rainfall, was once the bed of a stream has been demonstrated in the *Survey of Western Palestine*. Underground shafts and ducts cut in the rock below the soil surface have been found at its base, and others along the narrow spur, of some 200 yards wide, which, on the north-west of the city, at a mile from its walls, spreads out in the direction of Kuloniah and Lifta. A spring north of the Damascus Gate also once existed, as from it both Struthion and the Temple moat were supplied. This spring is now dry, though some of its ducts have been found, above the royal quarry, near the Damascus Gate.

In addition to the making of dams for the storage of water, of which the *Birket Mamilla* and Hezekiah's Pool are examples, it was found necessary to bring

¹ The measure of twelve hundred cubits given in the *Siloam* inscription as the length of the cutting between these two points does not refer to the length of the tunnel, but is the overhead, or surface, distance between its two ends.

water from a distance to supply the needs of the Temple. About $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of Jerusalem are three great reservoirs, with irregular bottoms, known as Solomon's Pools. They are built at the foot of a hillside in what is, perhaps, the most fertile valley in Southern Palestine. Its productiveness as compared with other parts of the district is testified to by its modern name *Urtâs*, derived from the Roman *Hortus*, garden. Near these pools is the *Ain Atan*, the water from which they were meant to conserve. This wady is probably the scene of those works referred to in Ecclesiastes ii. 5, 6 :—

'I made me gardens and parks, and I planted trees in them of all kinds of fruit. I made me pools of water, to water therefrom the forest where trees were reared.'

At some time during the existence of the Hebrew monarchy, possibly in the reign of Solomon, it was determined to convey water from these pools to the Temple site in Jerusalem. The Hebrews, unlike the Romans, were ignorant of the law of hydrostatics that water in pipes will rise to its own level, and that it may thus be carried across ravines and valleys to any level slightly below that of its source. As a consequence, the aqueduct conveying the water from Etham¹ to Jerusalem by the law of natural gravitation on the ground surface is 25 miles in length. This supply is known as the lower water conduit, and a part of its winding course may be traced on any good map of the environs of the city. In Jerusalem the aqueduct was

¹ The note of Rabbi Obadiah on *Middoth* v. 3 is : 'There was a bath over the water gate [*i.e.* over its little porch. This was the third gate on the south, No. 3 on Plan], and a fountain of water was conveyed there by means of a conduit which came from the fountain Etham,' *i.e.* *ain Atan* (comp. 1 Chron. iv. 3 and *Ant.* viii. 7 § 3).

carried over the Tyropœan Valley on the wall which stood above the great causeway to the west of the Temple. The accompanying Plan of Mount Moriah shows that at Wilson's Arch are two gates, with a short length of masonry between them. If this short length of masonry was that on which the first wall of the city rested,¹ as would appear by its having two gates, one of which led into the lower city and one did not do so, then we know where the aqueduct from Solomon's Pool entered the platform of the Temple area. From that point the water was conducted to the ground level on which the Temple stood. Here it was divided and entered in two streams beneath the foundations of the Temple, and flowed in the north and south sub-galleries which ran on each side of the *Naos* (items 28, 36).

From this point their probable course may be seen described on the Plan of the Temple—one stream supplying the needs of the altar and the other those of the laver. Both disappeared into a 'gully,' the position of which is given in *Middoth* iii. 3 as being at the south-west corner of the altar, and as consisting of a slab or marble a cubit square, with a lifting ring in its centre. In this movable slab we see an early example of the present-day custom of Southern Europe in which drains are fed from above by having slits cut in their covering heads, through which the water pours into the duct below.

The exit of this drain was into the Kidron, through an opening in the south wall of the Haram area a little

¹ 'This wall . . . ended at the west portico of the Temple' (*War* v. 4 § 2). The late Sir Charles Wilson's note on this passage is: 'This section of the first wall ran, almost in a straight line, from the Jaffa Gate to the Temple Enclosure at Wilson's Arch.' The passage over this arch is now known as the *Bab-es-Silsileh*.

to the west of the old Horse Gate, where its mouth has been found, below the substruction known as Solomon's Stables. Could this aqueduct be excavated for its whole length it would take us back to the opening near the altar where it began.

In A.D. 26 Pontius Pilate was appointed Roman Procurator of Judæa by Tiberius, a post which he held for ten years. During this time he compelled the Temple authorities to spend the contents of one of their thirteen treasure chests, that marked 'Corban,' in making an aqueduct to convey a further supply of water from the springs in the *Wâdy el-'Arrub* to Solomon's Pools near Bethlehem. The mob rose in protest against any use of the Temple money for this purpose, and many lives were lost in repressing the ensuing riot. The fact of a Roman governor taking such action is evidence that, in spite of all that had hitherto been done, the supply of water at the Temple was insufficient for its many needs (*War* ii. 9 § 4; *Ant.* xviii. 3 § 2).¹

Other attempts to supply the needs of its Temple was made. One of these was from the springs at *Ain Karim*, which are five miles due west of the city. The fact that the mountains round about Jerusalem are in some cases 500 feet—as at Bethel and at *Râmet el-Khālil*, near Hebron—above the Temple platform, render such schemes feasible, and at 12 feet below the present site of the Jaffa Gate masonry has been found which was placed there for the conveyance of the precious fluid from *Ain Karim*. This is known as the higher conduit.

¹ The discrepancy in the distances given in these two authorities, of thirty miles and fifteen miles, is accounted for by the fact that in the former of them Josephus reckoned the whole distance from Jerusalem, and in the latter only that from the spring to the pools of Solomon.

The rainfall at Jerusalem is slightly more than that in London,¹ and its residents at all times are dependent upon it for their chief water supply. This is collected from the roofs of the houses and is stored in private tanks and reservoirs. There is not now, and apparently never has been, any provision for supplying the city with water at the public expense, beyond the open storage of rain water in reservoirs, and all the schemes of canals detailed above were meant for the Temple alone. Here the arrangements for its reception and distribution were as perfect as elsewhere they were entirely wanting.

Three outlets for the discharge of the Temple drains are known and are still visible. One of these has already been noticed as emptying itself into the Kidron below Solomon's Stables. The floor of this blood passage is 2347 feet above the sea-level, whereas the level of the Temple site is 2440 feet, or 93 feet higher. What gives this drain passage additional importance as to level is the fact that there are two other and similar outlets for water on the east side.

One of these is a little to the south of the Golden Gate and 260 feet north of the south-east angle of the wall. The other lies further to the south and has its sill at the same level as the blood passage in the south wall. Both of these so-called postern gates were undoubtedly built as the outlet of Temple drains, and their inland course, if known, would decide some problems with which we have to deal. In the absence

¹ The average rainfall in Jerusalem for thirty-two years is 25·23 inches (*Quarterly Statement of P.E.F.* for January, 1894, p. 39). In 1907 it was 27·215 inches, and in 1908 31·870 inches. In neither of these years did any rain fall in the months of May, June, July, August and September, a fact which illustrates the biblical saying, 'the former and the latter rain.'

of anything like certainty as to their route it may be pointed out that two such additional outlets are required by the system of drainage given on the Plan : one to receive the refuse water from the slaughter-house on the north side of the Temple, and the other to receive and discharge the rain that fell within the peribolos of the Temple and found its way into the drain at the foot of the *Soreg* and out at gate No. 3—from this fact known as the Water Gate (*Middoth* ii. 6).

CHAPTER XXIX

THE SAKHRAH STONE

‘**T**HE SACRED ROCK, WHEN RIGHTLY UNDERSTOOD, MUST FURNISH THE KEY TO THE ENTIRE SYSTEM OF THE TEMPLE.’ Such was the opinion of a writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, expressed so long ago as January, 1873. It is one which is in entire consonance with the architecture of these pages, and is indeed the master thesis upon which this series of books has been written.

This being so, the relative importance of the subject demands that we should have before us as accurate a conception as print and diagrams will permit of the stone itself.

At first, says Josephus (*War* v. 5 § 1), the plateau on the top of the hill on which the Temple was built was hardly sufficient for the sanctuary and altar, for all around it was steep and precipitous. His reference is to the site of the Solomonic structure, and the truth of his traditionary words has been amply confirmed and demonstrated by late archæological examination. A contoured map of Jerusalem will show that the following, in round numbers, are the heights of the rock on which Jerusalem stands :—

Below pool of Siloam 2000 ft.	} above sea-level.
Kidron Valley, opposite Sakhrāh	2200 ft.	
Tyropœan Valley at Robinson’s		
Bridge	. . . . . 2300 ft.
Temple plateau, average	. . . . . 2400 ft.
Western Hill (The Southern) 2500 ft.	

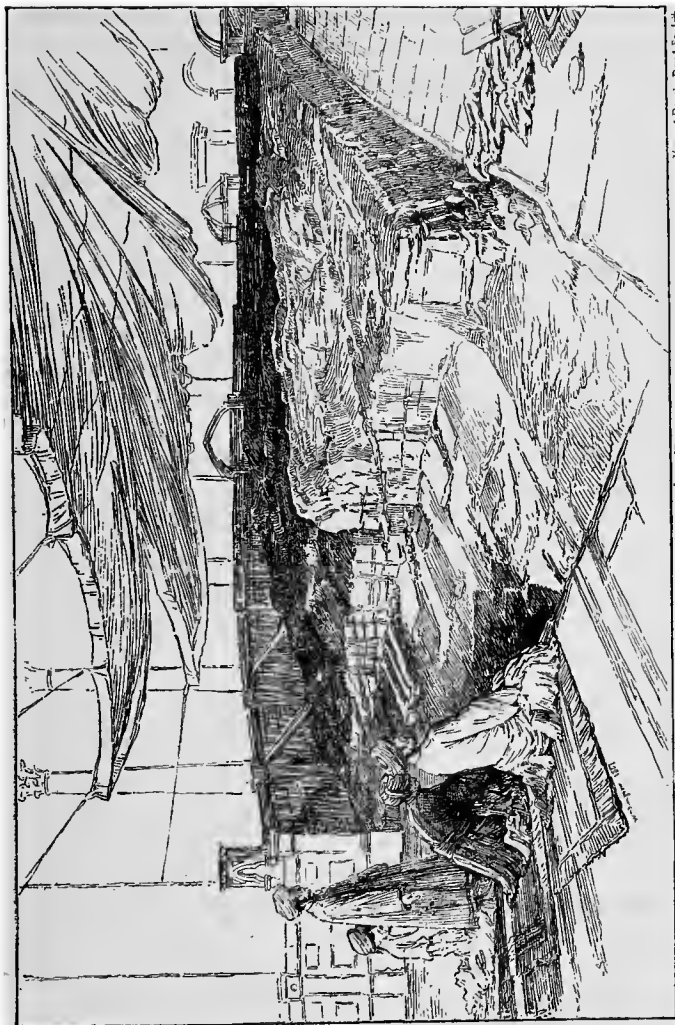
Between the two valleys of the Kidron and the Tyropœan rose the hill of Zion. It was narrow and steep, for the valleys converged, and on the southern end of the Haram area are less than 300 yards apart. Between them ran a kind of hog's-back ridge, which was the site of the future Temples. Two processes were gradually adopted in order to render this narrow site available for such a series of structures as were to be built upon them.¹ One was to build up, from below, huge retaining walls which, on three of their sides, should keep back the earth poured in until 'the hill became a larger plain.' The other was to cut down the upper crest of the hill, so as to reduce its topmost level in furtherance of the general plan. Accordingly the whole ridge for 1600 feet—from the *Birket Israil* to the south wall—was, wherever necessary, scarped away to a level surface of about 2400 feet. This is now that flat surface of *mezzeh* on which both the *Qubbet es-Sakhrah* (2430 ft.) and the Mosque el-Aksa (2420 ft.) stand, and in which many water tanks have been cut. It is, of course, impossible to say, except at one point, how many vertical feet of rock it was found necessary to remove in order to produce this result. If the ridge were a serrated one, the quantity would vary from point to point and from yard to yard. Were the information available it would be useless. What we are to be seized of is the fact that much labour has been spent on the Temple hill to reduce it to the condition in which it now is. Thousands of cubic feet of rock have been removed and millions of tons of earth-filling

¹ No difficulty was found in putting one Temple on the site of another, as the rock below them was not scarred into trenches, but only levelled, so as to form a bed for the foundation. This removed, another was laid on the same site.

have been conveyed from without to bring it to its present level. That level is not a uniform one. There is a difference of 10 feet between the floors of its two main buildings, the figures for which have been given, while the sill of the Golden Gate is 40 feet lower still (2380 ft.). There are thus great inequalities in the surface of the ground south of the great rock scarp or wall which divided the Temple area from that of Antonia. These may have arisen in part from different parts of the last Temple having had different levels, and also from the fact that a great deal of building and levelling has been done there since A.D. 70.

Amid these superficial inequalities—which are not very apparent in walking over the thirty-five acres of which the hill of Moriah consists—there is one spot, a part of the original woodland ridge of the hill, which remains unaltered by the vicissitudes of peace and war for an historical period of thirty centuries. It is the Sakhrah Stone (item 134).

Its immovableness is shown by its size. With a length of 56 feet 4 inches and a width of 42 feet, attached, as it is, to the *living* rock below, it could never have been other than it now is. This is a point to bear in mind, as a stone that might have been handled would long ago have been shifted from its place. Religious bigots—and nowhere has bigotry shown itself more relentless than here—would certainly have thrown this rock into the sea if that had been possible. Everything movable that stood on and around it has gone. The rock alone remains. Its history we will presently look at. Now we consider it as an object, and an object without historical parallel. Three faiths—Jewish, Christian, Moslem—have con-



Vucan, Brooks, Day & S. Loh

THE SAKHRAH STONE AT JERUSALEM

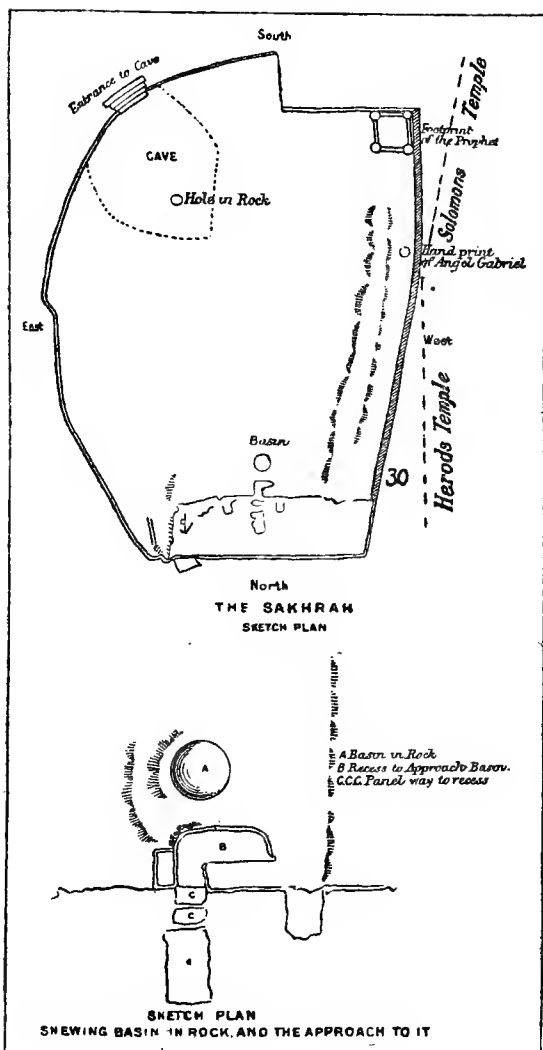
tended for its possession, and in doing so have shown their interest in it by acts of bitterest hostility towards each other and of supremest reverence towards it.

It is a bare, rugged, unhewn piece of *mezzeh*, part of the upper of the two strata which form the Jerusalem plateau. It is hard and of a grey, in places of a reddish, colour, and has a dip of twelve degrees in a direction 85° east of north. At its highest point it stands 4 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches above the marble pavement around it, and one foot at its lowest. Its slope, from the higher to the lower of these figures, is generally from the west downward to the east, so that the original ridge of Moriah, as represented here, was some little distance away from the western fall of the stone.

The surface of the rock bears the marks of hard treatment and of long usage. Its western face is comparatively smooth and regular and shows, in many places, the marks of the chisel by which it was cut down to a vertical line. Most of the north side has also been scarified with chisels, while on its upper surface are stone parallel ridges which show the use of an iron tool.

On the right side of the drawing by Mr. Simpson may be seen the perpendicular wall into which the Sakhrah has been cut on its western side. Its accompanying sketch-plan will show that the line of the cut is not a straight one. Near the traditional hand-print is the rounded formation of what was once an obtuse angle in the line of cutting—which will merit attention later. Here only it may be said that the lines north and south of this blunt angle correspond with those of the east and west walls of the Haram area.

There are two pieces of artificial handiwork on the



THE SAKHRAH, SHOWING DIFFERENT ORIENTATIONS. TYPICAL ALTAR-STONE
'REJECTED OF THE BUILDERS'

rock which cannot be passed over in the slightest description of it. One is a hollowed-out basin on its upper surface near the north end. To this basin there is a passage cut in the rock, evidently intended for the person officiating to approach the basin and cleanse it. This passage is 11 feet long and 2 feet wide, the rock being cut down perpendicularly on both sides and at the southern end of the passage. It leads to a broad recess or standing room within reach of the basin which it was intended to serve.

Another peculiarity of the rock is that it covers a chamber into which access is afforded by a flight of steps. The aperture into this cave beneath the rock faces the south-east. Two cylindrical perforations exist, one in its roof and one in its floor.

But the feature of the rock's outline is the fact that at the south-west corner a square recess has been cut away, 17 feet in width and 6 feet in depth. As a consequence of this alteration of its figure, the western line of the rock is $50\frac{2}{3}$ feet long, though its total length, toward the centre, is 56 feet 4 inches. Here, again, we are met with the fact that the angle of the mechanical cut is a right angle, and, as such, its lines agree with those of the wall behind the Temple and not, as did the earlier Temples, with that which was built in front of it.

The history of this sacred stone since the Christian era is one in which tradition plays a large part, but it is tradition based upon common sense and probability.

The fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70 was followed by a revolt, under the High Priest Matthias, son of Theophilus, more bloody,

if possible, than that. In A.D. 135 Hadrian suppressed this second rising of the Jews, whose last stand was made on Mount Bether (*Bittir*), to the south-west of the ruined capital. Subsequently to this, Jews were allowed to visit the site of their Temple only on the anniversary of its fall. On one day in the year they were accustomed to anoint with oil the 'pierced stone' where their altar had stood, in imitation of Jacob's anointing of the rock at Bethel. (Cp. *Bordeau Pilgrim*, edit. 1887, p. 22.)

When the Crusaders obtained possession of Jerusalem, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, they at first honoured the rock by covering it with marble slabs and erecting an altar on it, but afterwards, looking upon the Jews as the betrayers and murderers of the Son of God, and upon the Mahommedans as deniers of His Divinity, they showed every possible indignity to that which they had formerly revered—covering the surface of the altar stone with filth and manure. On the first Saracenic conquest of Palestine, before the Crusades, the Moslems determined to honour the spot from which the early Christians had been driven, A.D. 668, by building over the rock the great dome which is one of the wonders of Eastern architecture. The fierce passions of men have thus conspired to preserve from forgetfulness the very place where David's altar was placed on the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite (2 Sam. xxiv. 18). Within the cave beneath the rock Araunah and his four sons hid themselves ¹ (1 Chron. xxi. 20). Above the cave was

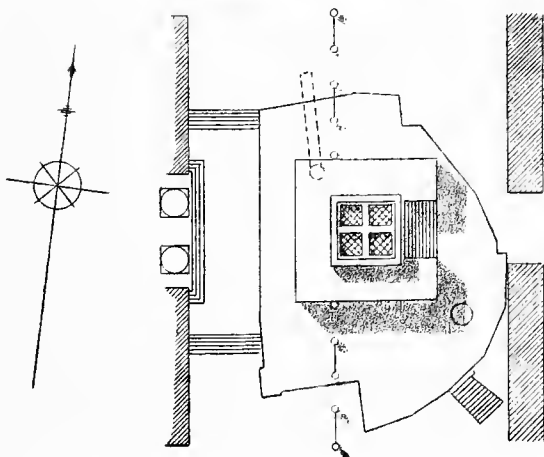
¹ The cave is irregular in form and is equal in size to a room ten feet every way. Its average height is seven feet. Through the hole in the roof the ashes of the altar may have been thrown down to cool before removal—which took place by night—to the great ash heaps still standing

the threshing-floor itself, no difficulty arising from the fact that the surface of the rock is not flat. The difference of between three and four feet in its levels is not one that would trouble a Jebusite farmer. All threshing-floors in the East are placed on some high exposed position, where the wind will blow away the chaff. The site being chosen, the floor is then made by being built up with rubble to a rough level and a surface of sun-baked earth put upon it. Great care is spent in the preparation of this top surface, as upon its goodness depends the value of the threshing-floor. Of such a floor the Sakhrāh Stone was originally the basis.

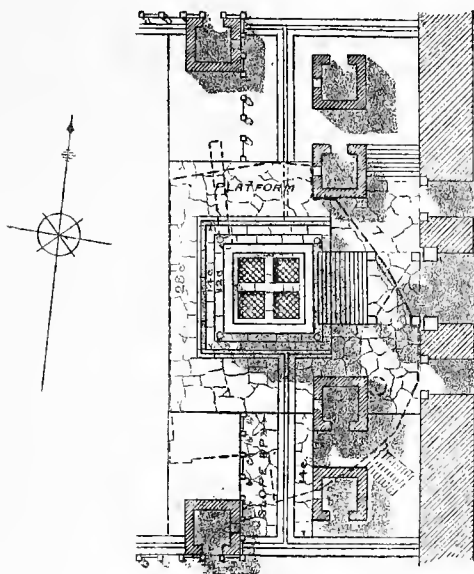
This ponderous mass of rock having been always *in situ*, it may be of interest to see how it was dealt with in each of the three Temple constructions of which it formed an adjunct. Certain it is that of those three years of preparation which Solomon spent before laying the first stone of his foundation platform, a part was given to the preparation and adjustment of the site upon which the future Temple was to stand. Evidence has already been adduced in this series¹ showing that the outside length of Solomon's Temple, including the thickness of its outer Enclosure walls, was 100 cubits, 120 feet, and that to obtain a level of this size on the western slope of Moriah, 30 feet, vertical, of hollow had to be filled up. The stones used in the doing of this are probably still in position. Even to obtain this narrow foothold for the Temple it was requisite to place it as

near the tombs of the Kings. Samples of these ashes have been analysed and found to contain charred teeth and other animal remains. Such a disposal of the refuse of the altar fires and sacrifices is in harmony with the instruction of Leviticus i. 16.

¹ *Solomon's Temple*, 2nd Edit., 1908, pp. 230 note, 342 notes 1 and 2.



POSITIONS OF THE SAKHRAH IN FORMER TEMPLES
IN SOLOMON'S TEMPLE



POSITIONS OF THE SAKHRAH IN FORMER TEMPLES
IN EZEKIEL'S TEMPLE

near to the altar as was possible. In this necessity—a necessity caused by the steep fall of Moriah toward the Tyropœan Valley—we see the reason for the paring away of the Sakhrâh Stone on its western side. Thirty-five cubits, 42 feet, of its width were left untouched, and on this dimension the great altar-base of 20 cubits, built by Solomon, stood. That the width of the stone in Solomon's Temple, and in that of Ezekiel, was 42 feet is shown in drawings which we here reproduce. It is probable that the whole of the 42 feet which lay between the steps of the Temple porch and the wall of the Enclosure were by Solomon covered with rubble work to a smooth surface of 6 feet high, on which his altar-base was built. To the south of this square of 35 cubits some 14 feet of the Sakhrâh projected, and would be used to support that slope of approach which was a necessity of all altars built in accordance with Mosaic ritual (Exod. xx. 26).

The specifications given by the prophet Ezekiel are more full than those of the time of Solomon, and we are thus able, while retaining the 56 by 42 feet dimensions, to add something to our knowledge of the uses to which the stone was put. As before, it was, according to law, levelled up to a uniform height of 6 feet, with natural stones from Beth-haccherem (Jer. vi. 1; *Middoth* iii. 4), and upon this broad foundation Zerubbabel's altar-base was reared. Around the foundation a depressed water drain 18 inches in width ran on three of its sides; which, being taken as an integral portion of the altar, gave it the same width as the holy chambers. In addition to this conduit for the passage of the water mingled with blood which flowed at the foot of the altar was another drain the position

of which is given in Ezekiel xl. 12.¹ The waters of this duct must have been lifted by hand into an upper sluice, inasmuch as they flowed down the centre of the slope to the level below, unless we suppose this altar drain to have been made for carrying off the rainfall of the altar. These drains at the foot of the altar were used to carry off the sacrificial blood of all burnt-offerings as well as that of all thank-offerings. In the last Temple was a different arrangement for 'the upper bloods.' They were passed into one or other of 'two apertures, like nostrils,' which led down through the foundation base and took the uncoagulated blood into the canal or drain that ran on two sides of the altar platform, where it met the running water (*Middoth* iii. 1, 2).

It is not until we pass away from the second Temple and come to the still fuller accounts of the Herodian Temple that we can account for some of the principal marks and cuttings of the Sakhrah. Its abrupt termination on the west can belong only to the Solomonic building. The square recess at the south-western angle of the stone, as also the passage-way and basin opposite to it on the north, may belong to Herodian times, though the Mishna thinks otherwise. We take into consideration the latter of these elements first. The basin has been described on a former page. Its use remains to be suggested.

All readers of the Book of Psalms are familiar with the couplet in the Hallel song of thanksgiving—

'Bind the sacrifice with cords,

Even unto the horns of the altar' (Ps. cxviii. 27)—

¹ The whole construction of the altar is developed in *The Second Temple in Jerusalem*, pp. 367-8 and notes. On p. 376 the length of the Temple is shown to be the same as that of Solomon, 108 feet, with an enclosure wall behind, and without steps before it.

but not all recognize that this is poetry and a mere rhetorical figure of exuberant joy. Victims never were bound, and could not be bound, to the horns of the altar, if only for the reason that the 'horns' were placed on a high level of the base (*Middoth* iii. 1). They were square cylinders of wood, covered with brass plates, with a mouth at the larger end for the reception of libations of sacrificial wine, which were poured into it (Exod. xxvii. 2 and xxx. 2).

The Rabbis say that each of the cylinders was a cubit square at the top and was a cubit high—Exodus says they should be two cubits. Also (Exod. xxvii. 2) that there was a 'horn' at each of the four corners of the altar. These stood on the level of the 'circuit' on which the priests walked, and were projecting bodies standing up from the body of the altar base (item 82).

Dr. John Lightfoot gives the material connection between these four projecting apertures and the basin cut in the Sakhrah Rock, in the sense of the Talmudists—

'They built the altar solid, like a pillar, but one put, in the midst of the building, a piece of wood or stone below every one of the horns, till he had finished the building. Then he took away those pieces, and the horns were left hollow and without a foundation.'¹

¹ *The Prospect of the Temple*, Chap. xxxiv., where the references are given. The same construction is thus summarised by Rabbi Obadiah, the Commentator on *Middoth*:—'When the drink offerings were poured upon the top of the altar, at the south-western corner, they ran down from the altar upon the pavement and flowed into the cistern which was dug there. . . . It was not in the altar in the days of Solomon, but the children of the captivity added to the masonry of the altar until this cistern was taken into the middle of the altar and the holes at the top of the altar opened opposite to it.' By the 'cistern' we understand the 'basin' of the text.

‘The holes through which the drink-offerings ran down were called *Shitin*’ (*Zevachim* vi. 61).

These interior ducts were used to convey small libations of wine, *i.e.* a few drops from each cup, which were poured, or rather spilt, by the priests into the orifice of the horns, whence they found their way into the basin, and so were dried up or evaporated by the heat of the altar fires above. This is what is meant by Josephus when he tells us that ‘they pour the wine round the altar’ in a paragraph which confirms the schedule of quantities of corn, wine, and oil which were to be offered with the presentation of every living victim for sacrifice (Exod. xxii. 29; Num. xxviii., and *Ant.* iii. 9 § 4).

It is not until we are possessed of topographical facts such as these that we can appreciate the prophet’s forecast that the time would come when his people should drink wine, and they shall make a (gurgling) noise as through wine; ‘and they shall be filled like bowls—like the corners of the altar’ (Zech. ix. 15). The analogy of Amos vi. 6 leads us to suppose that the meaning here is that the people’s ‘bowls’ containing wine should be as full as were those of the altar—thus pointing to seasons of great plenty for both people and priests.

Every Biblical archæologist is familiar with the fact that the quadrilateral of the Temple hill is not a rectangular figure. The south-western angle of its enclosing walls is a right angle, but the south-eastern angle is an obtuse one of 92° 30’. A glance at the Palestine survey plan of Mount Moriah makes this

apparent to the eye, and shows that the east and west walls are not parallel.

When Solomon and the men of his time determined on the aspect of the Temple they doubtless obtained the best astronomical opinion of the day so as to make the Temple face due east.¹ This opinion governed both the original cutting away of the Sakhrah Rock on its western side and also gave the line on which the east wall of the Haram area was built. Josephus is clear as to the fact that a section of the east wall, namely that portion of it which stood opposite to the first Temple, was first built, and was built in harmony with the general plan of Temple construction, inasmuch as a portico was built on an artificial mound within the wall. 'On all its other sides the Sanctuary was unprotected' at the time, the Temple standing without the perimeter of the city wall, which ran behind it (*War* v. 5 § 1). This is how it comes to be that the two walls are not parallel, the theological consideration as to the aspect of the first Temple over-riding the architectural one of having the two great walls parallel and pointing the same way. A reference to the frontispiece of the volume on *The Second Temple in Jerusalem* will show that Solomon's precedent for the placing of his Temple was followed by the builders of Ezekiel's Temple plan.

For some reason, unknown to us, the men who, under Greek influence, erected the Herodian structure, determined to abandon the old precedent of the

¹ At what time of the year is unknown. Gilbert Scott, in his *Essay on Church Architecture*, has shown that every early church was oriented to the sun, so that its axis should point to the rising sun on the day dedicated to its patron saint. Mr. Penrose has done the same service for many of the Greek temples. Who will render a similar service to the Temples?

orientation of the Temple, and to place theirs in line with the old city wall, having its side walls at right angles to it. This accordingly was done, and is so shown in the Plan giving the site of Herod's Temple. The direct structural opposition which the Temple façade had hitherto shown to the worship of the rising sun, by compelling its attendants to turn their backs full upon it when engaged in the service of Jehovah,¹ was thus modified, and to this extent abandoned.

As a corollary to this decision it became necessary to alter the western line of the Sakhrāh Stone, which was then cut away at its southern end to the required angle, the line being continued, by added masonry, to its northern extremity. The great recess in its south-west angle was cut at the same time by the builders of Herod's time, the direction of its short line of six feet putting us into possession of the fact that it was parallel to the city wall behind it.

The Pharisaic spirit of the time when this was done demanded that the altar slope, on account of its lesser sanctity, should not touch the altar itself.

The actual length of the slope itself was 25 cubits (item 101 and *note*), and by immemorial custom its width was one half that of its length, or 15 feet, reduced from 15 cubits (see *note* 8, p. 369). There was thus space in the 17 feet of width cut away in the recess for the head of the ascent to be built in it and yet not to touch the Sakhrāh at any point.

These structural arrangements involving as they did real departure from the historical spirit of reverence due to Jehovah, together with much ostensible zeal for

¹ See this idea amplified in a paragraph on the orientation of the entrances to Ezekiel's Temple, *The Second Temple in Jerusalem*, pp. 354-5.

Him, must have given great offence to the nobler spirits of the day. They saw in the different alinement of the Temples the fulfilment of an ancient prophetic proverb—

‘The stone which the builders rejected
Is become the head of the corner.’

(Ps. cxviii. 22.)

Jesus cited these words as applicable to Himself (Matt. xxi. 42), in which application He is followed by Peter and John (Acts iv. 11) and one of the Epistles (1 Pet. ii. 7). This double significance is of itself enough to show, in the highest order of thought, that Jesus the Christ is at once Temple and Altar, Priest and Sacrifice. He is the Divine Reality: they were His divinely ordered and temporary prefigurements.

It is this aspect of the Temple which gives, and must ever give, the subject of this volume a perennial and abiding interest to the Christian Church. To the attention of such of its members as desire to pierce through the outer husk of material truth to the fruitful kernel within, these pages are dedicated in the hope that they may render some little service to that cause to the advancement of which, in many lands, many men have given their lives.

APPENDIX I.—THE JEWISH TEMPLE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT SCHEDULE OF SPECIFICATIONS DERIVED FROM JOSEPHUS AND THE MISHNA, GIVEN IN PARAPHRASES AND WITH AMPLIFICATIONS

Footnotes to Appendix I will be found on pp. 368-70

Items No.	References.		Architectural description in modern speech.	Details.		Medium cubits = 14 4/5	Value in Eng. feet.
	Josephus.	Middoth.		Medium cubits.	Eng. feet.		
1	War v. 5 § 5	Ch. iv. § 6	TEMPLE AND PORCH. <i>Vertical measures taken on the outside.</i> 'The Sanctuary was 100 cubits high', viz:— (a) <i>Lower stage to roof parapet of side buildings</i> :— Foundation platform within and around <i>Naos</i> ¹ Wall of Chambers and Galleries above foundation, i.e. the two interior heights, or combined height of foundation and entrance to Porch. Cp. items 54-6 Carved and gilded beams of priestly Chambers Rafters of same, i.e. those between and those above the Chambers Roof battens of same Cement plaster or pavement of flat roof of same	—	—	100	120
2	—	"		6	7 1/2		
3	—	"		40	48		
4	—			1	1 1/2		
5	—	"		2	2 3/4		
6	—	"		1	1 1/2		
7	—	"		1	1 1/2		

Items No.	References.		Architectural description in modern speech.	Details.		Medium cubits = 14' 4 ins.	Value in Eng. feet.
	Josephus.	Middoth.		Medium cubits.	Eng. feet.		
8	War v. 5 § 5	IV. § 6	(b) <i>Upper stage to roof parapet of Temple Porch</i> :— Height of upper portion of Porch, i.e. above side buildings	40	48		
9	—	"	Carved beams in two floors of same	1	1 1/2		
10	—	"	Rafters in two floors of same	2	2 3/8		
11	—	"	Roof battens of Porch roof	1	1 1/2		
12	—	"	Cement plaster or pavement of flat roof ..	1	1 1/2		
13	—	"	Parapet of same	4	4 3/4		
14	—	"	Combings or spikes, 1 cubit additional on Plan ²	—	—		
15	—	IV. § 7	<i>Linear measures, east to west, taken on line of axis</i>	100	120		
16	—	"	<i>viz</i> :— Thickness of Porch wall	5	6		
17	—	"	Depth of Porch	11	13 1/2		
18	—	"	Thickness of Temple wall, east gable. Cp. items 39-42	6	7 1/2		
19	—	"	Length of Holy Place	40	48		
20	—	"	Partition space occupied by Veil	1	1 1/2		
21	—	"	Length of Oracle or Holy of Holies	20	24		
22	—	"	Thickness of Temple wall, west gable	6	7 1/2		
23	—	"	Width of Priests' Chambers at back of Temple, middle series	6	7 1/2		
24	—	"	Outer wall of same, upper portion	5	6		
				100	120		
				—	—	100	120

Items No.	References.		Architectural description in modern speech.	Details.		Medium cubits = 14 4 ins.	Value in Eng. feet.
	Josephus.	Middoth.		Medium cubits.	Eng. feet.		
43	<i>War</i> v. 5 § 5	IV. § 3, 4	Sizes of Priests' Chambers—38 in all: viz.:—	—	—	5	6
44	—	"	13 sunk in foundation platform, width of each	—	—	5	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
45	—	"	13 ditto on ground floor " "	—	—	7	8 $\frac{3}{8}$
46	<i>Agst. Apion</i> ii. 10	III. § 7	12 others on upper floor " "	—	—	20	24
47	<i>War</i> v. 5 § 4	.....	Width of Porch Entrance, outside	—	—	16	19 $\frac{1}{2}$
48	—	"	ditto " ditto inside	—	—	—	—
49	<i>War</i> v. 5 § 4	"	Height of same: including foundation platform. Cp. items 55, 56.	—	—	40	48
50	—	"	Babylonian Curtain to same, of equal size, viz. 35 × 16 cubits	—	—	—	—
51	—	"	Width of opening before Royal Oratory, outside	—	—	20	24
52	—	"	Computed ditto ditto, inside Cp. item 47	—	—	16	19 $\frac{1}{2}$
	—	"	Computed height of same. See Plan and elevation drawing	—	—	27	32 $\frac{3}{8}$
53	<i>War</i> v. 5 § 4 <i>Ant.</i> xiv. 3 § 1	III. § 8	Golden vines screened the front of this opening of the same size as it, viz. 16 × 27 cubits	—	—	—	—
54	<i>War</i> v. 5 § 4	"	Height of Temple Porch opening, from ground to top of lintel.	—	—	—	—
55	—	"	viz.:—Foundation platform; height at Temple Porch. Cp. <i>note</i> to item 2.	5	6	55	66
56	—	"	Opening of Porch, closed by curtains	35	42	—	—
57	—	III. § 7	Compound lintel, of alternate layers stone and wood, <i>i.e.</i> five courses of each, the former being 2 cubits thick and the latter 1 cubit thick	15	18	—	—
				55	66		

58	—	"	Height of Temple Porch, foundation to cornice	—	—	90	108
59	<i>War</i> v. 5 § 5	"	Height of Temple proper—exterior—being vertical measurements of the <i>Naos</i>	—	—	60	72
60	—	"	<i>viz.</i> :—	6	7 $\frac{1}{6}$		
61	—	iv. § 1	Foundation platform	20	24		
62	—	"	Holy Place and Holy of Holies, height of ..	2	2 $\frac{2}{3}$		
63	—	"	Ceiling and floor above them	22	26 $\frac{2}{3}$		
64	—	"	Upper story or <i>aliyah</i>	10	12		
	—	"	Ceiling 2, Roof Chamber 6, Roof 2	60	72		
65	—	"	N.B.—For vertical measures of Priests' Chambers see items 2-7				
	—	"	Interior joint height of holy chambers and <i>aliyah</i> , or external height of Porch above Temple proper	—	—	40	48
66	—	iii. § 6	Distance between Porch wall and Altar ... <i>viz.</i> :—	—	—	22	26 $\frac{2}{3}$
67	—	"	7 steps, each 1 cubit wide and $\frac{1}{2}$ cubit rise...	7	8 $\frac{2}{3}$		
68	—	"	3 landings, 3 cs.+3 cs.+4 cs. wide respectively. (Total rise 5 cubits.)	10	12		
69	—	"	Passage-way between steps and Altar, width of	5	6		
				22	26 $\frac{2}{3}$		
			N.B.—Two other steps were placed in the width of the wall that divided the Porch from the Temple, thus completing the number of 'twelve steps' both given by Josephus, <i>War</i> v. 5 § 4 and <i>Middoth</i> iii. § 6.				

Items No.	References.		Architectural description in modern speech.	Details.		Medium cubits = 14 4 ins.	Value in Eng. feet.
	Josephus.	Middoth.		Medium cubits.	Eng. feet.		
70	War v. 5 § 6	.....	<i>Measures of Great Altar</i> :—	50	60		
—	—	III. § 1	Altar foundation, built on Sakhras stone, and enlarged so as to be a square of Less 1 cubit on North and East sides, occupied by the water conduit	I	1 1/2	49	58 1/2
71	—	"	Altar base, 1st stage, above foundation, a square of	—	—	32	38 3/8
72	—	"	Altar base, 2nd stage, above foundation ...	—	—	30	36
73	—	"	" " 3rd " " "	—	—	28	33 3/8
74	—	"	" " 4th " " "	—	—	26	31 1/4
75	—	"	" " 5th " " "	—	—	24	28 1/2
76	—	"	" proper, outside measure, a square of	—	—	20	24
77	—	"	Interior brass gratings of Altar; four, each a square of	—	—	8	9 3/8
78	—	"	Height of Altar foundation (49 c. sq.) Cp. item 70.	—	—	5	6
79	—	"	Height of Altar base stage 1, 32 c. sq.	—	—	I	1 1/8
80	—	"	" " " 2, 30 c. sq.	—	—	5	6
81	—	"	" " " 3, 28 c. sq.	—	—	3	3 3/8
82	—	"	" " " 4, 26 c. sq. ⁶	—	—	I	1 1/8
83	—	"	" " " 5, 24 c. sq.	—	—	I	1 1/8
84	—	"	" " proper ⁶ 20 c. sq. Cp. item 77.	—	—	3	3 3/8
85	—	III. 3	Marble slab covering head of drain or gully leading to Kidron Valley, a square of ...	—	—	I	I
86	—	"	Slope from Altar, <i>length</i> . (See item 101 and <i>note</i> , where this measure, with attendant figures, is reduced to 30 cubits.)	—	—	32	38 1/2

87	—	v. § 1	Slope from Altar, <i>width</i> . (To be reduced accordingly, to 15 cubits). <i>Linear measures of inner and interior courts.</i> East to west, from edge of middle <i>Soreg</i> , westward	—	16	19½
88	—		viz. :—	—	187	224½
89	—	"	Court of Israel, including its partition of 1 cubit (length 135 cubits— <i>Middoth</i> ii. §6), width	11	13½	
90	—	"	Court of the Priests, including its <i>Soreg</i> of 1 cubit in width (length 135 cubits), width	11	13½	
91	—	"	Overall width of Great Altar. Cp. item 71	32	38½	
92	—	"	Width of Steps and Passage-way. Cp. item 66 ff.	22	26½	
93	—	"	Overall length of Temple. Cp. item 15 ff.	100	120	
94	—	"	Vacant space behind Temple, and between walls, width.	11	13½	
				187	224½	
95	—	v. 2	<i>Linear measures of the Naos.</i> North to south in its widest part	—	135	162
			viz. :—			
96	—	"	From wall of Court to Slaughter pillars	8	9½	
97	—	"	Space occupied by Pillars used for dividing carcases	4	4½	
98	—	"	Space occupied by Skinning Tables	4	4½	
99	—	"	Space occupied by Slaughter Rings	24	28½	
100	—	"	From Slaughter Rings to Altar—this being part of Altar platform	8	9½	
101	—	"	The Slope and the Altar, combined width of	62	74½	
102	—	"	'Remainder' between slope and wall of Sanhedrin Hall; being 20 cubits for 'place of pillars' and 5 cubits for gangway	25	30	
				135	162	

Items No.	References.		Architectural description in modern speech.	Details.		Medium cubits = 14 4 ins.	Value in Eng. feet.
	Josephus.	Middoth.		Medium cubits.	Eng. feet.		
103	<i>War</i> v. 5 § 6	II. § 5	<i>The Court of the Women or Treasury Court</i> :— ⁹	—	—	135	162
104	—	"	Width from North to South	—	—	135	162
105	—	"	The same, East to West	—	—	40	48
106	<i>War</i> v. 5 § 2	"	Size of four chambers in this court, each a square of	—	—	25	30
107	<i>War</i> v. 5 § 3	"	Height of same	—	—	2½	3
108	<i>War</i> v. 5 § 2	"	'Fifteen steps' led down from the Women's Court to <i>Soreg</i> , each step being 5 cubits wide and having a 'rise' of ½ of a cubit	—	—	10	12
109	—	"	Between the 'fifteen steps' and the <i>Soreg</i> was a level space of	—	—	3	3½
110	—	II. § 3	Height of <i>Soreg</i> ¹⁰ (partition of stone), its width being 1 cubit, half of which was reckoned to the <i>Hieron</i> court and half to Solomon's Portico.	—	—	2½	3
111	—	"	This <i>Soreg</i> is given in <i>Middoth</i> as being 'ten hand-breadths high,' or	—	—	10	12
112	—	"	Space occupied by narrow <i>Chel</i> or rampart to the west of Solomon's Portico.	—	—	6	7½
113	—	"	viz.: <i>Soreg</i> (with two steps in thickness of same), not included. 12 other steps, each ½ cubit wide ¹¹ Passage-way and drain between steps and pillars of Portico	4	4½	10	12

Items No.	References.		Architectural description in modern speech.	Details.		Medium cubits = 14 4/5 ins.	Greek feet = 11 1/2 Eg.in.	Eng. feet.
	Josephus.	Middoth.		Greek feet.	Eng. feet and ins.			
<i>Solomon's Portico or Court of the Gentiles.</i>								
114	<i>Ant.</i> xv. 11 § 3	---	'A double Portico of the same length as the wall' (i.e. of the 'Ir'), 'facing the gates of the Temple.' Total length of Wall and Solomon's Portico ..	---	---	250	313	300 ¹²
115	---	---	Width of same, obtained by deduction. Cp. chap. xvi., p. 188	---	---	52 ¹³	65	62 2/3 or 62 4/5
116	---	---	Approximate measures obtained by deduction from Josephus, viz.:—	1	0 11 1/2			This being one and
117	---	---	Radius of engaged Pillars	30	28 9			nine-tenths
118	<i>Ant.</i> xv. 11 § 5	.....	Inner Walk of Cloister	2	1 11			of an inch
119	---	---	Diameter of Middle Pillars	30	28 9			more than
120	---	---	Outer walk of Cloister	2	1 11			the details
			Diameter of outer Pillars	65	62 3 1/2			require.
<i>The Thirteen Gates of the Temple.</i> (See Plan, Nos. 1 to 13.)								
121	<i>War</i> v. 5 § 2		viz.: 8 gates—4 on the North (Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7) and 4 on the South (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 8)					
122	---	II. § 3	Width of each	---	---	10	---	12
123	---	"	Height of each	---	---	20	---	24
124	<i>War</i> v. 5 § 3	II. § 6	The Nicanor or Corinthian Gate; also called the Gate Beautiful. No. 7, inclusive width	---	---	30	---	36
			viz.:—					

Items No.	References.		Architectural description in modern speech.	Details.		Medium cubits = 14' 4 ins.	Greek feet = 11 1/2 Eng. ins.	Eng. feet.
	Josephus.	Middoth.		Medium cubits.	Eng. feet.			
125	—	II. § 6	There were wickets, one on the right and one on the left. ¹⁴ Width thus apportioned:—					
126	—	—	Centre opening of the Nicanor Gate 2 side wickets, each 5 cubits,	20 10 30	24 12 36			
127	War v. 5 § 3	„	Height of Nicanor Gate.	—	—	30	—	36
128	War v. 5 § 3	I. § 4	Two outside Chambers, one on either side of the Gate Nicanor, viz.:—	Two outside Chambers, one on either side of the Gate Nicanor, viz.:— Length 30 Width 30 Height 40 1 two pillars supported each Chamber, each in circumference 12 Two wicket Gates (Nos. 10 and 11) stood 'on the west' of the Temple. See note to item 125. 6 Gate of the House of Abtinas (No. 12) between Women's Court and Naos:— Width of this gate. 10 Height „ „ 20 The 'Women's Gate,' giving admission to the Court of the Women (No. 13):— Width 10 Height 20 Levels of Temple area:— The surface of the Sakhras Stone is 2446 feet above				
129	„	„	Length					
	„	„	Width					
	„	„	Height					
130	—	II. § 6	Two wicket Gates (Nos. 10 and 11) stood 'on the west' of the Temple. See note to item 125.					
131	—	I. I; II. 5	Gate of the House of Abtinas (No. 12) between Women's Court and Naos:—					
132	—	II. § 3	Width of this gate.					
133	War v. 5 § 2	II. § 5	Height „ „					
	—	—	The 'Women's Gate,' giving admission to the Court of the Women (No. 13):—					
	—	—	Width					
	—	—	Height					
134	—	—	Levels of Temple area:—					
	—	—	The surface of the Sakhras Stone is 2446 feet above					

				Details.		Med. cubits. = 4'4" [Eng.in.]	Greek feet = 11½" [Eng.in.]	Eng. feet.
				Greek feet.	English feet and inches.			
135	— ¹⁵	—	sea. Its base is about 6 feet below this, which is the datum level. The pavement of Solomon's Portico was 2 cubits lower than datum level.	—	—	—	—	25
136	War v. 5 § 3	.....	Height of buildings within the Treasury Court..... The highest interior level, viz. the Women's Court, was 10 cubits higher than the ground level of the outer <i>Chel</i> . 'Ten steps led from the Court of the Women to the other gates of the inner court.' These 'other gates' are those numbered 1 and 2 on Plan. Rise of these steps	—	—	—	—	30
137	War v. 5 § 3	1. § 3	<i>Buildings in what is now the Haram area.</i> <i>The Sushan Gate</i> ¹⁶ —Height	—	—	50	—	60
138	Ant. xv. 11 § 5	.....	Width (in two arcades) <i>The Royal Portico</i> (Triple)— Length, 1 furlong, approx. Outside width, arrived at as below	—	—	40	—	48
	—	—	viz.:— Radius of engaged Pillar	—	—	—	—	600
			South Walk of Portico, width	1½	1 5'25	—	115½	110'8½"
			Diameter of Pillar	30	28 9	—	—	—
			Middle Walk, width	3	2 10'50	—	—	—
			Diameter of Pillar	45	43 1'50	—	—	—
			North Walk, width	3	3 10'50	—	—	—
			Diameter of Pillar	30	28 9	—	—	—
				3	2 10'50	—	—	—
				115½	110 8'25	—	—	—

Items No.	References.		Architectural description in modern speech.	Details.		Med. cubits. =14'4" = 11½ Eg.in. Eg.in.	Greek cub. feet = 11½ Eg.in.	English feet. feet.
	Josephus.	Middloth.		Greek feet.	English feet and inches.			
139	<i>Ant.</i> xv. 11 § 5	.....	Height of pillars in the Royal Portico (shafts only)	—	—	—	27	25' 10½"
140	—	.....	Number of Pillars, 162—in 4 rows of 40 each, and 2 at Entrance Porch	—	—	—	—	—
141	—	.....	Diameter of these two pillars, given in extended arms of three men as their circumference	—	—	—	6	5' 9" 17
142	—	.....	Outside height of Royal Portico, <i>i.e.</i> that of the Clerestory, 'above fifty feet'	—	—	—	50	47' 11"
143	—	.....	Deducted diameter of its 160 Corinthian pillars, as above	—	—	—	3	2' 10½"
144	<i>War</i> v. 5 § 2	.....	<i>The external Double Porticoes.</i> ¹⁸	—	—	—	—	—
145	<i>Ant.</i> xv. 11 § 5	.....	Height of pillars	—	—	25	—	30
		.....	Total width of Double Porticoes, each aisle being 30 Greek feet wide. Cp. items 114-20	—	—	—	65	62½
146	<i>War</i> v. 5 § 2	.....	Entire length of all the outside Porticoes, 6 furlongs, or 3000 medium cubits. See items 148, 149	—	—	—	—	—
			These are thus shown on the Plan :—	—	—	—	—	3600
			1. <i>Royal Portico</i> (South) 1 furlong in length	—	—	—	—	—
			2. <i>West Porticoes</i> :—	—	—	—	—	—
			South section of	—	—	—	—	—
			Double Portico	—	—	—	—	1½ fur.
			North section of same	—	—	—	—	1½ "

147	—	.....	3.	<i>North Portico</i> 1 "	—	—	—	—	—	—
			4.	<i>East Porticoes</i> :—	—	—	—	—	—	—
				North section of Double Portico	$\frac{3}{8}$ "	—	—	—	—	—
				South section of same $1\frac{1}{3}$ "	$1\frac{1}{3}$ "	—	—	—	—	—
				Total	<u>6 fur.</u>	—	—	—	—	—
				For single Porticoes or interior colonnades in the Women's Court see items 116-20. These being without engaged pillars makes them slightly different from the others. The items being : pillars 2 Greek feet, walk between pillars 30 Greek feet, pillars 2 Greek feet=34	—	—	—	—	—	—
148 and 149	<i>Ant.</i> xv. 11 § 3	II. § 1		Size of outer <i>Chel</i> , or paved Terrace, a square of 1 Roman furlong, which the Mishna gives as 500 cubits or 600 feet. It is impossible to say which measure is the true one, but their close approximation is significant. The Hebrew measure has probability on its side, and is here adopted	—	—	—	—	—	—
150	<i>War</i> vi. 5 § 1	"		Thickness of Temple Enclosure Wall	—	—	—	—	—	—
					500	8	—	—	600	$9\frac{3}{8}$
					—	—	34	32	7"	—

FOOTNOTES TO APPENDIX I

¹ The foundation within the Porch and the top platform before the Porch was a cubit in height less than this. Cp. item 55. When this cubit is deducted from the figure of item 2, the total of items 2-7 is 50 cubits. These, with the 10 cubits (height of attic), make 60 cubits, which is given by Josephus as the external height of the two Chambers of the *Naos* (*War* v. 5 § 2). Cp. items 59-64. See section drawing.

² It was a question with the Rabbis whether this cubit of combing was or was not included in the parapet, showing that at the time of Rabbi Jehudah, who made the objection, the Plans of the Temple were lost. But they may have had written specifications or descriptions before them at the time of the discussion. Cp. *Middoth* iv. § 6, Josephus' *War* v. 5 § 6 and vi. 5 § 1.

³ The selection of this figure here is full of significance. It is intended to mark the distinction between the *Naos* and the *Pronaos*, in the latter of which was that royal chamber of Herod the Great, whose memory was abhorred of the Jews.

⁴ The construction of items 33-7 was this, showing some small anomalies in the text.

ROOF-LINE MEASURES						
Base-line measures	Outer Wall.		Beats.		5 c.	
	Police				5 c.	
			Middle Wall.		3 c.	
	Priests'		Chambers.		7 c.	
	Temple Wall				5 c.	
	6 c.		3 c.		5 c.	
	3 c.		5 c.		6 c.	
					= 25 cubits	

⁵ It was on the one cubit margin of the 26-cubit stage that the Priests walked, being thus able to feed the Altar and its fire, and also to pour the libation of wine into the horns of the Altar. This narrow space was known as 'The Circuit.'

^e The height of the combined Altar base and Altar proper is nowhere given in *Middoth*. Josephus gives two different heights, each of which is only technically correct. In his book *Against Apion* (i. § 22) he gives 'ten cubits' as its height. In his *War* (v. § 6) he says it was 'fifteen cubits high.' The truth is that, like the Altar of the second Temple, it was fourteen cubits in height above the foundation. Of these, ten cubits were given to the five stages of the base, one to the hearth, and three to the Altar proper. The Ariel, or hearthstone, was reckoned to belong to the Altar above it, leaving ten for the base, which, with the foundation, made fifteen. The true Altar of 3 cubits rested on these lower measures of eleven cubits, giving a total height above the datum of nineteen cubits. One cubit of height is probably unrecorded, making twenty.

^f The pulpit in this court was $2\frac{1}{2}$ c. or three feet above the two courts in one of which it stood (see Pulpit on Plan), *Middoth* ii. § 6.

^g These 62 c. are, on the Plan, thus made up—

Width of Altar base as in item 71	..	..	..	32 c.
South portion of platform around base	..	..	..	4 c.
Vacant space between Altar and slope	..	..	..	1 c.
Actual length of Altar slope	..	..	..	25 c.
Total	..	..	..	62 c.

If these figures are right, the length of the Altar slope as given in item 86 is manifestly wrong, as $32+32$ is not 62, but 64. Its figure of 32 is here shown to require correction to 30.

^h This Court contained the Feasting Colonnades, which Josephus says were single (see item 115), their pillars being of similar size and design to those in Solomon's Portico (*War* v. 5 § 2).

ⁱ The height of the other *Soreg*, i.e. the one around the Altar, and delimiting the *Naos*, was a single cubit only. Cp. item 90. Josephus' *War* v. 5 § 6. For its names in Greek and Hebrew see *Ant.* viii. 3 § 9.

^j Josephus twice gives the total number of these steps as 'fourteen,' in *War* v. 5 § 2.

^k I. The following items, on the section-line of the Temple axis, West to East, makes this width up to a total of 250 cubits or 300 Eng. feet, viz.—

Items 87 to 93.	Length of Temple and Temple Courts	..	..	187 c.	224 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet
Width of <i>Soreg</i>	..	..	..	1 c.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
Items 109 to 111, exclusive of the preceding item, width of <i>Chel</i>	..	..	..	10 c.	12 "
Items 114 to 120. Deduced width of Solomon's Portico	..	..	..	52 c.	62 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
Totals	..	..	..	250 c.	300 feet

Item 104, width of Women's Court, West to East, the figures are:—	135 c.	162 feet
An unnamed passage-way, opposite the Altar slope	2 c.	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
Item 104. Length of Sanhedrin Hall	40 c.	48 "
Item 107. Width of level space above <i>Soreg</i>	10 c.	12 "
Item 109-115, combined width of <i>Soreg</i> , <i>Chel</i> and Solomon's Porch	63 c.	75 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
Totals	250 c.	300 feet

II. On the section-line of the Women's Court, West to East, the figures are:—

Item 104, width of Women's Court, W. to E.	..
An unnamed passage-way, opposite the Altar slope	..
Item 104. Length of Sanhedrin Hall	..
Item 107. Width of level space above <i>Soreg</i>	..
Item 109-115, combined width of <i>Soreg</i> , <i>Chel</i> and Solomon's Porch	..
Totals	..

III. In a section-line, North to South, of Solomon's Portico, the Plan shows 21 bays, each of 13 Greek feet (of 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches) clear, 273, 20 Pillars, each 2 Gk. feet diam., 40. Total, 300 Eng. ft., or 313 Gk. ft.

^l It is in favour of this figure for the width of Solomon's Portico that on the other side of the *Soreg* 52 cubits intervened between it and the outer wall of the Treasury Court. The Temple architect delighted in such duplicated figures, of which there are many examples.

¹⁴ The mention of these wickets in *Middoth* is accompanied by the statement that there were similar wickets on the west side of the interior court of the Temple. On the Plan these last are numbered 10 and 11. To all, the same width is given.

¹⁵ Item 135. A sentence in *War* v. 5 § 2 says that the exterior height of the first Temple, meaning the *Hieron*, west of the *Soreg*, was forty cubits, but that inside (the floor of the Treasury or Women's Court is meant) the height was but 25 cubits. This means that the buildings within this court were of this height. These buildings were the four Chambers which stood in its four corners. Josephus was wrong in giving 15 cubits as the difference in levels between the various parts of the Sanctuary. It is shown in Chapter xvi., p. 192, that this difference was but 10 cubits. We are, nevertheless, beholden to him for telling us that anyone standing in Solomon's Portico could not see any of the buildings within the Treasury Court, in spite of their masoned height of thirty feet. He gives as the reason, 'for being built on higher ground, with steps, all the interior was not visible, being covered by the hill.' Thus Gentile proselytes being confined to Solomon's Portico could only catch a sight of the Temple and its subsidiary buildings by mounting some of the steps—which it is doubtful if they were permitted to do. These steps led to the surmounting of a wall rather over seven feet in height.

¹⁶ The Golden Gate now stands on the site of the Shushan Gate. It is divided, by two columns, into a double arcade. The interior length of the gateway is about 70 ft., by 35 in breadth. In addition to this, the walls on each side are 11 ft. in thickness (Catherwood, in Bartlett's *Jerusalem*). See Ezekiel's references to a gate on this site given in *The Second Temple*, p. 330 *footnote*.

¹⁷ The previous item to this, No. 138, gives the diameter of the 160 pillars as being three Greek feet. The Plan shows this and a six feet diameter for the two pillars at the Entrance Porch only. This allocation is explained on page 249.

¹⁸ These were of the same measures as those in Solomon's Portico within the Temple (see items 114 to 120). In *War* v. 5 § 2 their width is given at thirty cubits, or 36 ft. It is possible that Josephus intended this as an approximate over-all measure, to include the diameter of the pillars.

APPENDIX II.—THE JEWISH TEMPLE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

MIDDOTH, OR THE MEASUREMENTS OF THE TEMPLE

WITH EXTRACTS FROM THE COMMENTARY OF RABBI OBADIAH
OF BARTENORA

(Reprinted by kind permission of the Palestine Exploration Fund)

CHAPTER I

1. THE priests kept watch in the Sanctuary in three places : in the house of Abtinās, in the house Nitsus, and in the house Moked.¹ And the Levites in twenty-one places : five at five gates of the mountain of the house, four at its four corners within, five at five gates of the court, four at its four corners without, and one in the chamber of the offering, and one in the chamber of the veil, and one behind the house of atonement.

2. The man² of the mountain of the house went round from watch to watch, with torches flaming before him, and to every guard who was not standing, the man of the mountain of the house said, 'peace *be* upon thee : ' if it was evident that he slept, he beat him with his staff, and he had authority to set fire to his cloak. And they said, 'what is the voice in the court ? ' 'The voice of a Levite being beaten and his garments burned, because he slept on his watch.' Rabbi Eliezer, the son of Jacob, said, 'once they found my mother's brother sleeping, and they set fire to his cloak.'

3. There were five gates to the mountain of the house :

¹ The house of Abtinās and the house Nitsus were two upper rooms built beside gates of the court. The house Moked was not an upper room, but a vaulted building, *arquatta* [=arcuatus], erected upon the ground.

² The prefect over all the guards.

the two gates of Huldah on the south served for going in and going out ; Kipunus on the west served for going in and going out ; Tadi on the north was not used at all ; upon the eastern gate Shushan the palace was portrayed,³ and by it the high priest who burned the heifer and the heifer and all his assistants went out to the Mount of Olives.

4. There were seven gates in the court. Three on the north, and three on the south, and one on the east. Those on the south *were*—the gate of kindling, second to it the gate of the first born, third, the water gate. That on the east *was* the gate Nicanor, and there were two chambers to it, one on the right hand and one on the left. One *was* the chamber of Phinchas, the keeper of the vestments,⁴ and one the chamber of the pancake maker.

5. And those on the north *were* the gate Nitsus, which was a kind of *exhedra* with an upper room built over it, that the priests might keep watch above and the Levites below, and it had a door into the rampart (*chel*) ; second to it, the gate of the offering,⁵ third, the house Moked.⁶

6. There were four chambers in the house Moked, like small rooms⁷ opening into a hall (טרקלין = *triclinium*), two in the holy and two in the profane⁸ part, and pointed pieces of wood⁹ distinguished between the holy and the

³ When they came up from the Captivity, the King of Persia commanded them to make a representation of Shushan the palace upon the gates of the house, in order that they might fear their king, and they depicted it on the eastern gate.

⁴ He was the prefect whose function it was to dress the priests at the time of the service, and to undress them after the service, and take care of the priestly garments.

⁵ There they brought in the most holy sacrifices, which were slaughtered on the north.

⁶ It was called Beth Hammoked (*locus focī*) because there were fires burning continually in it by which the priests, who went barefoot, might warm themselves. It was a large room, and in its four corners were four small chambers.

⁷ Like the small chambers which open into the large room, or triclinium, of kings.

⁸ Because the house Moked was built part within the court which was hallowed, and part in the profane place.

⁹ Ends of beams projecting from the wall to the place which was holy, in order to show which was holy and which was profane, and that they might eat the holy things in the holy part.

profane. And what were their uses? The south-western was the chamber of (the lambs) for the offering.¹⁰ The south-eastern was the chamber (of the maker) of the shewbread.¹¹ In the north-eastern the Asmoneans preserved the stones of the altar which the Greek kings had defiled.¹² In the north-western they went down to the bathing room.¹³

7. There were two gates to the house Moked; one opened to the *chel*¹⁴ and one opened to the court. Rabbi Judah said there was a wicket to the gate which opened to the court by which they entered to examine the court.

8. The house Moked was a vaulted room, large and surrounded by stone benches,¹⁵ and the elders of the house of the fathers¹⁶ slept there with the keys of the court in their charge [literally, in their hands] and the young priests,¹⁷ each with his pillow on the ground.¹⁸

9. And a place was there, a cubit by a cubit, and a slab of marble and a ring was fixed in it, and a chain, on which the keys were hung. When the time for locking arrived he

¹⁰ Because there the lambs were examined for the continual sacrifices, as it is taught in the Mishna, 'there may not be fewer than six lambs in the chambers of the lambs' (Erachin ii, 5).

¹¹ The family of Garmu made the shewbread there.

¹² They offered idolatrous sacrifices upon it.

¹³ By this chamber a priest to whom an uncleanness happened descended and went by the hollow way which was under [or behind, שחך, according to some copies] the sanctuary to the bathing room, where was a fire by which the priest warmed himself after bathing and going up and wiping himself. It was called the house Moked, and opened to the large house Moked [i.e. the great central hall].

¹⁴ The northern gate of the house Moked opened to the *chel*, and that on the south opened to the court.

¹⁵ All round seats (or benches) of hewn stone were sunk in the wall, and projected from the wall into the interior of the house Moked on the floor, and over them were other shorter stones, which also projected from the wall and formed a sort of steps, one above the other. [A similar arrangement to this of the Beth Moked probably obtained in the priestly chambers on either side of the *Naos*, as they were twenty cubits in height within. (W.S.C.)]

¹⁶ The watch was divided into seven houses of fathers, corresponding to the days of the week, each one doing duty on its day, and the elders of the house of the fathers for that day slept there upon those stone benches.

¹⁷ Young men whose beards were beginning to grow; and they were the watchers.

¹⁸ Because they were not permitted to sleep there upon beds but upon the ground, as the watchers in the courts of kings do.

raised the slab by the ring and took the keys from the chain. And the priest locked from inside and the Levite slept outside. Having finished locking he returned the keys to the chain and the slab to its place, put his cloak upon it, *and* slept. If an uncleanness happened to one of them he went out and departed by the winding way,¹⁹ which ran under the Sanctuary (*birah*). And the lamps were burning on each side, until he reached the bathing room. Rabbi Eliezer, the son of Jacob, said, he went forth by the winding way, which went under the *chel* and passed out by Tadi.²⁰

CHAPTER II

1. THE mountain of the house was five hundred cubits by five hundred cubits.¹ Its greatest space was on the south, the second on the east,² the third on the north, the smallest on the west. That space which had the largest measurement was most used.

2. All who entered the mountain of the house entered on the right hand and went round and out on the left hand,³ except one to whom something had happened, who went round to the left. 'And what aileth thee that thou

¹⁹ In the *מְהוּלָה*, cavern, or cavernous passage, which went under the whole Sanctuary (*birah*), for a cavernous passage was under the Sanctuary, and all the Sanctuary was called *birah*, as it is written (1 Chron. xxix. 19), 'the *birah* (palace, A.V.) for which I have made provision.' And because he was unclean (*בְּעַל קָרִי*) he did not go by way of the court, but by way of the caverns, it being a statute with us that the caverns were not hallowed.

²⁰ He passed out by the winding way which went under the *chel*, and did not return to the house Moked, because he was *tibool youm* (had bathed, but would not be clean until the sun went down).

¹ Surrounded on all sides by a wall.

² That is to say, the distance from the wall of the mountain of the house to the wall of the court on the south side exceeded the distance which was between them on the eastern side; and the distance which was between them on the eastern side exceeded the distance which was between them on the northern side, and the northern *space* was greater than the western.

³ As if those entering by the Huldah gates, which were on the right, went round by way of the gate Tadi.

goest to the left ? ' ' Because I am in mourning, ' ' May He who dwelleth in this house comfort thee. ' ' Because I am excommunicate, ' ' May He who dwelleth in this house put into their hearts that they may restore thee. ' The words of Rabbi Meyer. Rabbi Jose said to him, ' thou hast made them *appear* as if they had transgressed against him in judgment, but *what they said was*, ' may He who dwelleth in this house put into thy heart that thou listen to the words of thy fellows and they shall restore thee. '

3. Inside of this⁴ was the *soreg*⁵ [or reticulated wall], ten hand-breadths high ; and thirteen breaches were there which the Greek kings made. *The Jews* built them up again and ordained thirteen obeisances opposite them.⁶ Within this⁷ was the *chel* [or rampart], ten cubits *wide*, and twelve steps were there,⁸ the height of *each step*⁹ half a cubit and the tread¹⁰ half a cubit. All the steps which were there were half a cubit high and the tread half a cubit, except those of the porch.¹¹ All the gateways and gates which were there were twenty cubits high and ten cubits broad, except *that* of the porch.¹² All the gateways which were there had doors except that of the porch. All the gates that were there had lintels, except the gate Tadi, where two stones inclined one upon another. All the gates which were there were covered with gold [literally, were changed to be of gold], except *the doors* of the gate Nicanor,

⁴ Inside the mountain of the house.

⁵ A partition (or wall) made full of holes, like a bedstead netted with cords.

⁶ When one came opposite either of the breaches, he bowed himself, and acknowledged *with thankfulness* the destruction of the Greek kings.

⁷ Within this reticulated wall was a vacant space of ten cubits, which was called *chel* (rampart) [*i.e.* without the reticulated wall. (W.S.C.)].

⁸ In order to go up thence into the court of the women.

⁹ Each step was half a cubit higher than the adjoining one, and also the first step was half a cubit high from the floor.

¹⁰ The breadth of the step, which was the place for the tread of the feet, half a cubit.

¹¹ Except the steps which were between the porch and the altar, which were not all thus, as is taught in Chapter III.

¹² It is taught in the following chapter that the height of *the porch* was forty cubits, and its breadth twenty.

because a miracle happened to them, and some say because their brass glittered like gold.¹³

4. All the walls which were there were high, except the eastern wall, in order that the priest who burned the cow, standing on the top of the Mount of Olives, might see straight through the doorway of the Temple at the time of sprinkling the blood.

5. The court of the women was one hundred and thirty-five *cubits*¹⁴ long by one hundred and thirty-five *cubits* broad.¹⁵ There were four chambers at its four corners, each of forty cubits, and they were not roofed. And thus they will be in the future, as it is said (Ezek. xlv. 21), 'then he brought me forth into the outer court, and caused me to pass by the four corners of the court; and, behold, in every corner of the court *there was a court*.' In the four corners of the court there were courts smoking (קטורות 'joined,' A.V.), and the reason why [it is said] 'smoking' is that they were not roofed.¹⁶ And what were their uses? The south-eastern was the chamber of the Nazirites, because there the Nazirites cooked their peace-offerings and shaved their hair and cast it under the pot. The north-eastern was the chamber of wood, for there the priests who had blemishes picked the wood, and every piece in which was found a worm was unlawful for the top of the altar. The north-western was the chamber of the lepers. The south-western, Rabbi Eliezer, the son of Jacob, said, 'I forget what was its use.' Aba Saul said, 'there they put wine and oil.' It was called the chamber of the house of oil. *The court of the women* was plane at first, and they surrounded it with a balcony,¹⁷ so that the women could see from above and the men from below, in order that they

¹³ Like gilded things (מזהיבות), whose appearance is like gold, so that it was not necessary to make them of gold.

¹⁴ From east to west.

¹⁵ From north to south.

¹⁶ Compare Genesis xix. 28, 'the smoke of the country went up;' it is the same as to say מעלות עשן, causing the smoke to go up, because there was no roof to them.

¹⁷ A balcony. They surrounded the court of the women with a kind of gallery, so that the women stood above upon the gallery, and the men below, to see, at the rejoicings of the *beth hashshavuah* at the Feast of Tabernacles, in order that they might not be tempted to levity.

might not be mixed. And fifteen steps¹⁸ went up from within it to the court of Israel, corresponding to the fifteen songs of degrees in the Psalms, because upon them the Levites stood and chanted. They were not long and straight,¹⁹ but curved like the half of a round threshing-floor.

6. And there were chambers under the court of Israel which opened into the court of the women, and there the Levites placed their harps and psalteries, and cymbals, and all instruments of song. The court of Israel was one hundred and thirty-five cubits long by eleven broad, and also the court of the priests was one hundred and thirty-five cubits long by eleven broad, and pointed pieces of wood²⁰ divided between the court of Israel and the court of the priests. Rabbi Eliezer ben Jacob said 'a step a cubit high²¹ was *there*,' and upon it the desk²² was placed, and in it were three steps of half a cubit each, so that the court of the priests was two cubits and a half higher than the court of Israel. The whole court²³ was one hundred and eighty-seven cubits long, by one hundred and thirty-five broad.²⁴ And thirteen obeisances were *made* there. Aba Jose ben Khanan said 'opposite *the* thirteen gates.' The southern gates near to the west *were* the upper gate, the gate of kindling, the gate of the first-born, and the water-gate. And why was it called the water-gate? Because through it they brought in the pitcher of water for the drink-offering of the Feast of Tabernacles. Rabbi Eliezer ben Jacob said 'and through it the waters ran, and in the

¹⁸ The height of the floor of the court of Israel above the court of the women. [For 'above' read 'below.' (W.S.C.).]

¹⁹ *Not* long and angular like ordinary steps, but round, like half of a round threshing-floor.

²⁰ The heads of beams projecting and sticking out from the wall to distinguish between the court of Israel and the court of the priests.

²¹ In the court of Israel. Its length corresponded to the length of the whole court.

²² The desk of the Levites was built upon it, and made like a kind of raised seat (*atztaba*). The height of the desk was a cubit and a half, and in it were three steps of half a cubit each, by which they went up to the desk.

²³ From the commencement of the court of Israel to the vacant space of eleven cubits which was behind the house of atonement.

²⁴ From north to south.

future they will go out from under the threshold of the house.' And opposite to them on the north, near to the west, the gate of Jechoniah, the gate of the offering, the gate of the women, *and* the gate of song. And why was it called the gate of Jechoniah? Because through it Jechoniah passed out when he went into captivity. That on the east was the gate Nicanor. And it had two wickets, one on its right and one on its left. The two on the west had no name.

CHAPTER III

I. THE altar was thirty-two cubits by thirty-two cubits. It rose a cubit, and receded a cubit—this *was* the foundation; it was now thirty by thirty. It rose five cubits and receded a cubit—this *was* the circuit; it was now twenty-eight by twenty-eight. The place of the horns *occupied* a cubit on either *side*; it was now twenty-six by twenty-six. The place for the feet of the priests to walk¹ *was* a cubit on either side; it was now twenty-four by twenty-four—the place for the fire. Rabbi Jose said 'at first it was only twenty-eight cubits by twenty-eight.' It rose and receded according to this measure [*i.e.*, in the above-mentioned manner], until the place for the fire was twenty by twenty. And when the children of the captivity came up, they added to it four cubits on the south and four cubits on the west, like a gamma; as is said (Ezekiel xliii. 16), 'and the altar, twelve *cubits* long, by twelve broad, square.' It might appear that it was only twelve by twelve, *but* when it says 'in the four squares thereof,' it is taught that it measured from the middle twelve cubits to every side. And a red line encircled it in the middle,² to distinguish between the upper bloods³ and the lower bloods.⁴ And the

¹ In order that it might not be necessary for the priests to go between the horns, they left a vacant space of a cubit inside the horns, upon which the feet of the priests might walk.

² A red line was made round the altar at its middle, five cubits from the base, that is one cubit below the top of the circuit.

³ The blood of a sin-offering of a beast, and a burnt-offering of a fowl, which was sprinkled above the red line.

⁴ The blood of all other offerings, which was sprinkled below the red line.

foundation extended all along the northern and western sides, and took up on the south one cubit, and on the east one cubit.⁵

2. And at the south-western corner⁶ there were two apertures like two narrow nostrils, by which the blood poured upon the western and southern foundations, might run down,⁷ and become mixed together in the canal, and pass out into the Valley of Kedron.

3. Below, in the pavement of that corner,⁸ there was a place measuring a cubit by a cubit, and a slab of marble in which a ring was fixed, by which they went down to the foundation and cleansed it. And there was an incline⁹ to the south of the altar, thirty-two¹⁰ cubits long, by sixteen broad, and in it on the west was a cavity¹¹ in which were put the defiled sin-offerings of birds.

4. Both the stones of the incline and the stones of the altar *were* from the valley Beth Kerem.¹² They dug below the virgin earth,¹³ and brought thence perfect stones upon which iron had not been lifted up. For iron defiles by its touch, and by a scratch, it defiles everything.¹⁴ If one of the stones became scratched, it was unlawful, and all *the*

⁵ [Edersheim's translation of this sentence is, 'And the base ran round all the north and all the west side, but was shortened a cubit on the south and on the east.'—*Jewish Social Life*, p. 303. (W.S.C.)].

⁶ Below in the cubit of the foundation were two apertures.

⁷ Through those apertures and become mixed together in the canal for water which was in the Court, thence pass out into the Valley of Kedron. And the gardeners bought it from the Gizbarim [or treasurers of the Temple] to manure the soil therewith.

⁸ The south-western.

⁹ Like a sloping bridge. It was made on the south, and by it they ascended and descended from the altar, for they might not ascend by steps because it is written (Exod. xx. 26) 'thou shalt not go up by steps unto mine altar.'

¹⁰ Its length was placed from south to north, and its breadth from east to west, sixteen cubits.

¹¹ Like a kind of hollow window, a cubit by a cubit. It was in the incline itself and placed on the western side. רבובת, *rabubahr*, is the same as נבובת, *nabubah*, as in the passage לוחות נבוב, 'hollow with boards' (Exod. xxvii. 8).

¹² From the valley of Beth Kerem they brought them.

¹³ Soil in which they had never before dug.

¹⁴ Any scratch defiled the stones, even though not done by iron.

rest were lawful. They whitened them¹⁵ twice in a year, once at the Passover, and once at the Feast of the Tabernacles, and the Temple once at the Passover. Rabbi Judah said 'every Sabbath eve they whitened them with a cloth on account of the blood.' They did not plaster them with an iron trowel, lest it should touch and defile. For iron was created to shorten the days of man, and the altar was created to prolong the days of man: it may not be that what shortens be lifted up upon what prolongs.

5. And there were rings to the north of the altar,¹⁶ six rows of four each (though some say, four *rows* of six each), upon which they slaughtered the holy sacrifices. The place of the slaughterers was to the north of the altar, and in it eight small pillars¹⁷ with square planks of cedar wood¹⁸ upon them, and iron hooks were fixed to them,¹⁹ three rows to each pillar,²⁰ upon which they hung the beasts and skinned them upon the marble tables²¹ which were between the pillars.

6. The laver was between the porch and the altar, drawn towards the south. Between the porch and the altar *were* twenty-two cubits, and twelve steps were there, the height of each step half a cubit, and the tread a cubit; a cubit, a cubit, and a landing three cubits; and a cubit, a cubit, and a landing three cubits; and the uppermost, a cubit, a cubit, and a landing four cubits. Rabbi Judah said, 'the uppermost a cubit, a cubit, and a landing five cubits.'

7. The doorway of the porch was forty cubits high, and

¹⁵ They whitened them with lime twice a year.

¹⁶ Johanan the high priest caused twenty-four rings, according to the twenty-four courses of the priesthood, to be made. They were fixed in the pavement, *and* made like a bow, into which they introduced the neck of the beast at the time of slaughtering, and fixed the end of the ring in the ground. And they were on the north of the altar because the most holy sacrifices were slaughtered on the north.

¹⁷ Low stone pillars.

¹⁸ Square pieces of cedar wood were upon the pillars.

¹⁹ A kind of hook (*uncinus*). They were fixed in those planks of cedar, and by them they suspended the beast.

²⁰ There were three rows of hooks one above another to each piece to suspend therefrom the large or small beasts.

²¹ Upon these they washed the inwards, because the marble made the flesh cold and preserved it from putrefaction.

twenty cubits broad. And five carved oak beams were above it, the lower one extended beyond the doorway a cubit on either side, the one above it extended beyond it a cubit on either side, so that the uppermost was thirty cubits, and a row of stones was between every two *beams*.

8. And beams of cedar were fixed from the wall of the temple to the wall of the porch, in order that it should not bulge. And golden chains were fixed in the roof of the porch, by which the young priests used to get up and see the crowns, as is said (Zech. vi. 14), 'and the crowns shall be to Helim, and to Tobijah, and to Jediaah, and to Hen the son of Zephaniah for a memorial in the Temple of the Lord.' A golden vine was placed at the doorway of the Temple, and supported upon poles, and whoever made a freewill offering²² of a leaf, a berry or a branch, brought and hung it to this *vine*. Rabbi Eleazer, the son of Zadok, 'it happened once that three hundred priests were employed in removing it.'

CHAPTER IV

1. THE doorway of the Temple was twenty cubits high and ten broad, and it had four doors, two within and two without,¹ as is said (Ezek. xli. 23) 'the Temple and the Sanctuary had two doors.' The outer ones opened to the in-

²² Of gold, for the Temple, and desired that the gold thus offered should itself be put upon the Temple so that it might all be covered with gold. Of that gold which was offered, there was made according to its value a berry, or a leaf, or a cluster, and hung upon the vine.

¹ Two within: in the thickness of the wall towards the inner side. Two without: in the thickness of the wall towards the outer side. The thickness of the wall of the Temple was six cubits, and at the end of the outer cubit of the thickness of the wall were the two outer doors, one on the right of the doorway, and one on the left, each of the doors being five cubits broad. When closed they touched one another and shut the doorway, the breadth of which was ten cubits; and when opened towards the inside they covered five cubits of the thickness of the wall. And two other doors of the same size were fixed at the inner side of the thickness of the wall, and when opened covered five cubits on one side, and five cubits on the other side of the breadth of the wall of the Temple within; and there the wall was not overlaid with gold like the rest of the house, because it was not seen.

terior of the doorway to cover the thickness of the wall, and the inner ones opened into the interior of the house to cover *the space* behind the doors, for all the house was overlaid with gold, except behind the doors. Rabbi Judah said: 'they were placed within the doorway, and were a sort of folding doors,² which turned back upon themselves; these, two cubits and a half, and those, two cubits and a half, and the door-post *was* half a cubit *broad* on this side, and the doorpost half a cubit *broad* on that side,' as is said (Ezek. xl. 24) 'and the doors had two leaves *apiece*, two turning leaves, two *leaves* for the one door, and two leaves for the other *door*.'

2. And there were two little doors³ to the great gate, one on the north, and one on the south. No one ever entered by that on the south. And it is of this gate that Ezekiel explains as is said (Ezek. xlv. 2) 'then said the Lord unto me: This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall enter in by it, because the Lord, the God of Israel, hath entered in by it, therefore it shall be shut.' He took the key and opened the little door and went into the chamber,⁴ and from the chamber into the Temple.

² Each door was five cubits *broad*, formed of two boards, each two cubits and a half, joined together. And when the outer door was opened towards the inside one half of it was folded back upon the other half, and covered two cubits and a half of the thickness of the wall, and in like manner the inner door, when it was opened towards the outside, was also folded back and covered the remaining two cubits and a half of thickness of the wall. [The word which I have rendered 'folding doors' is **אַצְטְרֵמֵלָא**, *elstremela*. It appears to be from the Greek *εκστρεφω*, *to turn back*. In some copies, and in other passages, it occurs as **אַצְטְרִיפּוּמָא** and **אַסְטְרוּמָא**, V. Buxtorf, and Aruch. S. V. Rabbi Lipsitz's note on the passage is, 'It is meant to say that each door was made of two pieces connected together by joints.']

³ Two little doors, one on the right of the great gate of the Temple and one on its left, at some distance from the gate. Of that on the south it is written, 'it shall be shut, it shall not be opened,' in the Temple of the future, and certainly thus it was in the eternal house [the second Temple].

⁴ This was that chamber which opened into the Temple, and from the chamber he entered into the Temple and went along the Temple as far as the great gate which was at the end of the thickness of the wall within and opened it. He then came to the second gate which was at the end of the thickness of the wall without, and stood within and opened it.

Rabbi Judah said, ' he went into the thickness of the wall,⁵ until he found himself standing between the two gates, when he opened the outer one from within and the inner one from without.'

3. And thirty-eight chambers⁶ were there, fifteen on the north, fifteen on the south, and eight on the west. Those on the north, and those on the south, *were* five above five, and five above them ; and those on the west, three above three, and two above them. And there were three openings to each, one to the chamber on the right, and one to the chamber on the left, and one to the chamber above it. And at the north-eastern corner there were five openings ; one to the chamber on the right, and one to the chamber above it, and one to the gallery and one to the little door, and one to the Temple.

4. The lower *row of chambers* was five cubits broad⁷ and the roof six : the middle six cubits and the roof seven, and the upper seven, as is said (1 Kings vi. 6) ' the nethermost chamber *was* five cubits broad, and the middle

⁵ Because he thought that he did not enter from the chamber into the Temple, but from the chamber went in the thickness of the wall of the Temple, until he found himself standing between the two gates, and opened the doors of the outer gate from within and the doors of the inner gate from without.

⁶ *Taim* = *lishkoth*, chambers.

⁷ On the outside of the wall of the gallery, which was the outer wall of the holy place (הקדש), were chambers (יציעים), *i.e.* additional rooms (גזוזטראות) surrounding the house on three sides, west, north, and south ; and these chambers (יציעים) were lower, second, and third. The lower chamber was five cubits broad, and the *robad*, רובד, or pavement, that was above it, that is the roof of the lower chamber, which was the floor of the middle chamber, was six cubits broad, because the wall of the gallery became narrower as it ascended, and when it reached the pavement, which was above the lower chamber, it receded one cubit, and upon the projection thus formed were placed the rafters of the chamber, so that the middle chamber was broader by one cubit than the lower chamber, namely, by that cubit which the wall receded. And, again, when it reached the pavement which was above the middle chamber, which was the floor of the third, the wall became narrower and receded one cubit, so that the ends of the rafters could rest upon that cubit by which the wall of the middle chamber projected outwards [towards the interior of the chamber] beyond that of the upper chamber, and thus the upper chamber was one cubit broader than the middle, and two cubits broader than the lower chamber.

was six cubits broad, and the third *was* seven cubits broad.'

5. And a gallery⁸ [or winding way] ascended from the north-eastern corner to the north-western corner, by which they went up to the roofs of the chambers. *He* went up by the gallery with his face to the west, *and* traversed the whole northern side until he reached the west; having reached the west, he turned his face to the south, and traversed the whole western side until he reached the south; having reached the south, he turned his face to the east, and went along on the south until he reached the door of the upper story, for the door of the upper story opened to the south. And at the door of the upper story were two beams of cedar, by which they went up to the roof of the upper story. And in the upper story pointed pieces of wood distinguished between the holy *place* and the most holy. And holes⁹ opened in the upper story to the most holy place by which they let down the workmen in boxes,¹⁰ in order that they might not feast their eyes¹¹ upon the most holy place.

6. The temple was a hundred *cubits* by a hundred,¹² by a height of a hundred. The solid foundation¹³ six cubits, and its height forty; a cubit the ornamental ceiling;¹⁴ two cubits the place of dropping; a cubit the rafters of the roof, and a cubit the plaster.¹⁵ And the height of the upper story was forty cubits, and a cubit the ornamented ceiling; two cubits the place of dropping, a cubit the rafters of the roof, and a cubit the plaster; and three

⁸ A kind of hollow way by which they went up to the roofs of the chambers. And because a person going up by it made a circuit in going up and again in going down, it was called מַסְבֵּה, or winding way.

⁹ Windows such as are made in the roofs of upper rooms.

¹⁰ They lowered them in the inside of the boxes by means of a rope.

¹¹ By seeing the most holy place; but might only do what was necessary, and go up again.

¹² A hundred long and a hundred broad. [A hundred high. (W.S.C.)].

¹³ Solid and closed masonry to form a foundation for the house, upon which they erected the walls [which were 40 c. in height. (W.S.C.)].

¹⁴ The lower rafter of the roof was one cubit thick, and because it was overlaid with gold and painted with beautiful pictures, it was called כִּיּוֹר, *kioor*, i.e. ornamented.

¹⁵ The mud, and stones, and lime which were put over the planks.

cubits the parapet and a cubit the scarecrow.¹⁶ Rabbi Judah said, 'the scarecrow was not reckoned in the measurement, but the parapet was four cubits.'

7. From east to west one hundred cubits. The wall of the porch¹⁷ five, and the porch eleven; the wall of the temple six, and its interior forty cubits; the partition¹⁸ space a cubit, and twenty cubits the holy of holies; the wall of the Temple six,¹⁹ the chamber six, and the wall of the chamber five. From north to south seventy cubits. The wall of the gallery five, and the gallery three; the wall of the chamber five, and the chamber six; the wall of the Temple six, and its interior twenty cubits; the wall of the Temple six, and the chamber six; the wall of the chamber six, the place for the descent of the water three cubits, and the wall five cubits. The porch extended beyond it fifteen cubits on the north,²⁰ and fifteen cubits on the south, and this was called the house of the slaughtering knives,²¹ because there they kept the knives. The Temple was narrow behind and broad in front, and it resembled a lion, as it is said (Isa. xxix. 1), 'Woe to Ariel, the city where David dwelt.' As a lion is narrow behind and broad in front, so the Temple was narrow behind and broad in front.

¹⁶ כלה עורב. A sharp plate of iron, like a sword, the height of which was a cubit, was placed on the top of the parapet in order that the birds might not rest upon it, and hence it was called כלה עורב, *challeh oreb*, crow destroyers, because the crows were destroyed by its means.

¹⁷ The thickness of the wall of the porch on the eastern side was five cubits and that of the wall of the Temple on the eastern side six cubits.

¹⁸ The cavity (or internal space) of the Temple was forty cubits long from east to west.

¹⁹ The wall which separated between the Temple and the holy of holies was called *tirkisin*, because it shut up the ark and tables of the law which were given at Sinai; טרק, *trak*, in the Aramaic tongue, means *shut*, as טריקי גלי, shut the door. *Sin* is Sinai. And the thickness of the wall was a cubit.

²⁰ The wall of the porch was five cubits thick, and the porch itself measured ten cubits on the north, and likewise on the south.

²¹ Because of the knives which were deposited there it was called the place of slaughtering knives. In the Roman tongue, also, large knives are called *chalpim* [*scalpillum*, *scalper*?].

CHAPTER V

1. THE whole court¹ was one hundred and eighty-seven cubits long² by one hundred and thirty-five broad.³ From east to west one hundred and eighty-seven : the place for the tread of Israel⁴ [*the laity*] eleven cubits ; the place for the tread of the priests⁵ eleven cubits ; the altar thirty-two ; between the porch and the altar twenty-two cubits ; the Temple a hundred cubits ; and eleven cubits behind the house of atonement.

2. From north to south one hundred and thirty-five. The incline and the altar sixty-two ; from the altar to the rings eight cubits ; the place of the rings twenty-four ; from the rings to the tables four ; from the tables to the pillars four ; from the pillars to the wall of the court eight cubits ; and the remainder between the incline and the wall, and the place of the pillars.

3. There were six chambers in the court, three on the north, and three on the south. Those on the north *were* the chamber of salt, the chamber of Parvah, and the chamber of the washings. In the chamber of salt they put salt for the offering. In the chamber of Parvah they salted the sacred skins, and on its roof was the place of bathing for the High Priest on the day of atonement.⁶

¹ The whole circuit of the court, within which circuit was built the house on its western side, the court and the altar being on its eastern side.

² From east to west.

³ From north to south.

⁴ This is what was called the court of Israel.

⁵ Called the court of priests.

⁶ The five immersions which the High Priest had to undergo on the day of atonement when changing from golden garments to white and from white to golden were all upon the roof of the house of Parvah, because it was hallowed with the same degree of holiness as the court, and the immersions which were on account of the day of atonement were required to be in the holy place (as is written [Levit. xvi. 24], 'and he shall wash his flesh with water in the holy place'), except the first immersion, which was not on account of the day of atonement [but was the ordinary immersion required of every priest before going into the court]. And also on all other days of the year no clean person might enter the court until he had been immersed, and hence the first immersion was in the profane part [of

The chamber of washings *was so called because* there they washed the inwards of the holy sacrifices and a winding stair⁷ went up from it to the roof of the house of Parvah.

4. Those on the south *were* the chamber of wood, the chamber of the captivity⁸ [or of the draw-well], and the chamber Gazith. The chamber of wood, Rabbi Eliezer, the son of Jacob, said, 'I forget for what it served.' Aba Shaul said, '*it was* the chamber of the High Priest,⁹ and it was behind the *other* two, and the roof of the three was even.¹⁰ The chamber of the draw-well. There the הנולה בור, the draw-well, was placed, and the wheel put over it, and from thence water was supplied to the whole court. The chamber Gazith: there the great Sanhedrin of Israel sat,¹¹ and judged the priesthood. And the priest in whom was found any disqualification *was* clothed in black and veiled in black, and went out and departed. And he in whom no disqualification was found, clothed in white, and veiled in white, entered and served with his brethren, the priests. And they made a festival, because no disqualification was found in the seed of Aaron the priest. And thus they said, 'Blessed be the place [*i.e.*, God], blessed be he that no disqualification was found in the seed of Aaron. And blessed be he who chose Aaron and his sons, to stand and serve before Jehovah in the House of the Holy of Holies.'

the Temple] over the Water gate. This was the third gate on the south, and a fountain of water was conveyed there by means of a conduit which came from the fountain Etham, and there the first immersion took place.

⁷ Stone masonry turning and winding stairs to go up to the roof of the house of Parvah by a winding way.

⁸ So called from a well which they who came up from the captivity [in Babylon] dug there.

⁹ This was the chamber of wood; it was the chamber of Parhedrin.

¹⁰ There was one roof to the three.

¹¹ In the unhallowed side of it, for the chamber Gazith was half in the holy and half in the profane *part of the Temple*, and in the half which was in the holy *part*, it was not possible for the Sanhedrin to sit, because there was no *right of* sitting in the court for any but kings of the house of David only, as is written (2 Sam. vii. 18), 'then went King David in and sat before the Lord.'

INDEX

A

- Abtinās, house of, 205
 „ the Gate, 204
 Acanthus-leaved capitals, 254, 256
 Ailments of the feet, 41
 Akra, 272
Aliyah, an, 322-3
 Altar, the great, 20, 301, 303, 305, 309, 318, 349
 Altars, Babylonian, 318
 Animals, sacrificial, 219, 284, 305, 307, 309, 317
 Annas, 'house' of, 98, 294
 Antonia, fortress, 6, 120, 149, 222, 260, 270
 Araunah's threshing-floor, 345
 Archelaus, 17, 53, 59, 60, 104
 Ashes, place of the, 312

B

- Babylonian altars, 318
 Banqueting-room of Herod, 222
 Barclay's gate, 257, 259
 Barriers in the Temple, 19 etc., 84, 85, 123, 230, 298
 Basin in the Sakhrāh Stone, 344
 Bath, the priests', 221, 223, 233, 314
 'Beautiful gate,' the, 48, 155, 204, 208
 Bethesda, pool of, 80
 Beth Moked, 199, 221, 223, 233, 298, 312, 315
 Bezetha, 269, 271
 Birket Israil, 272-3
 Bridge over the Tyropœan, 242, 258

- Builders, garments of the, 40
 „ wages of the, 17, 18, 46, 254
 Building of the Temple, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 39, 44, 129, 131, 275

C

- Cæsarea, 6, 7
 Candlestick, seven-branched, 43, 155
 Capitals, acanthus-leaved, 254, 256
 Casting-forth, gate of, 312
 Cave under the Sakhrāh, 344, 345
 Chambers about the Temple, 285, 287, 312, 313, 315, 317, 327, 344
Chel, the, 180, 191, 226, 235
 Chests in the Treasury, 290
 Children in the Temple, 63, 65
 Christianity, Josephus and, 28 etc., 172, 269
 Cloisters, 252, 288
 Cloud of incense, 38
 Cock-crow, the, 96
 Colonnades for feasting, 287
 Continuity of Worship, 43
 Cooking of sacrificial meats, 284
 Coponius, 233
 Courts of the Temple, 19-21, 50, 190, 238
 Crassus, sacrilege of, 11
 Cubit, the, 186, vi.
 Curule chair, the, 111
 Cyrenius (see Quirinius)

D

- Daily sacrifices, 36, 65
 Damage to the Temple, 60, 62
 Damascus gate, 260
 David's sepulchre, spoiling of, 46
 Dawn, watching for the, 36, 250
Debir, the, 21, 303, 320 etc.
 Decline of reverence, 320-2, 325, 353
 Dedication of the Temple, 44, 47, 129
 Dedication, Feast of the, 83
 Defences of the Temple, 260
 Dome of the Rock, carpet in, 43
 " " " pillars in, 255
 Dormitories, 327
 Double portico, the, 252 etc.
 Drainage of the Temple, 336, 348
 Dress of the builders, 40
 Duration of the Temple, 28

E

- Eagle, Herod's golden, 47
 Earthworks, 151, 269
 East gates, 214
 Eclipse in 4 B.C., 49
 Education, 45, 63
 Elevations above sea level, 338
 Enclosure, the, 151, 188, 196, 229, 275
 Enrolment of Jesus, 53, 285
 Entry-gate of Kings, 258
 Essenes, the, 34, 238

F

- Feasting, 25, 287, 293
 Feet, ailments of the, 41
 First-born, gate of the, 199, 201
 Fish gate, the, 260
 Florus, Gessius, 76, 134
 Fortress of Antonia, 6, 120, 149, 222, 260, 270
 'Forty-and-six years,' the, 26, 73
 Foundation, gate of the, 213

- Foundations of the Temple, 16, 90
 Fuel, chamber for, 287
 Furniture of the Temple, 43, 155, 308, 311, 321

G

- Gabbatha, 5, 110, 193, 229
 Galileans, the massacred, 69
 Galleries, 235, 289, 327
 Garments of the builders, 39
 Gate houses, 317
 Gates, 194 etc., 199, 207, 257
 Gazith, 97, 102, 283, 292
 Gentiles, court of the (see Solomon's Portico)
 'Golden gate,' the, 131, 212 etc., 225, 265
 Golden vine, 81, 89
 Greek measurements, 180, 182
 Guard, gate of the, 218
 Guardians of the Temple, 51, 205, 207

H

- Hananel, tower of, 260
 Harvest Festivals, 300
 Head, uncovering of the, 40
Hekal, the, 21, 321
 Herod Antipas, 70
 Herod the Great, 1 etc., 58
 " " his banquet-ing - room, 222
 " " his chamber in the Temple, 13, 44
 " " his golden eagle, 47
 " " his income, 17
 " " his palace, 7
 Hezekiah's pool, 332
Hieron, the, 22, 44, 282 etc., 291
 Historians, 28, 62, 173
 Horns of the Altar, 349
 Horse gate, 224
 'House' of Annas, 99, 294
 Huldah gates, 241, 257

I

- Incense, altar of, 43
 „ cloud of, 38
 „ making of, 206
 Inscription on the Warning Stone, 127
 Instruction of Children, 63, 299
 'Ir Enclosure, the, 151, 188, 196, 229, 275
 Iron tools forbidden, 41
 Israel, court of, 21, 53, 297

J

- Jeconiah, gate of, 199, 201
 Jerusalem, height of above sea, 338
 Jewish parties, 33 etc.
 John of Gischala, 137
 Josephus and Christianity, 28f., 172, 269
 Judas, 26, 105
 Judgment Seat, 111, 193, 230-1
 Judicial Court of Hebrew Kings, 4

K

- Kipunus, 232
 King's Entry Gate, 258
 Kings, court of Hebrew, 4

L

- Lamb room, 313
 Laver, the great, 302
 Lepers, chamber of, 21, 286
 Levelling of the site, 227, 260, 339, 346, 348
 Levels of the Temple, 140, 190, 338, 340
 Levites, the, 35, 63, 66, 299, 315, 327
 Libations, 80, 351
 Lighting of the Temple, 22, 50, 321
 Lightfoot, John, 176

M

- Makhama Hall, the, 287
 Mart in Solomon's Portico, the, 54, 71, 82, 87
 Measurement, standards of, vi., 16, 180, 182, 185, 187, 190, 278
 Medical doctor, 41
 Middoth, 174, 202, 371
 Millo, 230
 Mishna, 174
 Moat, east of Antonia, 266 etc., 332
 Monoliths, 246
 Mountain of the House, the, 230, 232, 236-7, 265

N

- Naz, the, 22 etc., 43, 282, 296 etc.
 Nazirites, chamber of the, 21, 56, 123, 285
 Nicanor gate, 199, 204, 231
 Night in the Temple, 83, 94, 98
 Nitsutz gate, 199, 202

O

- Offering, gate of, 199, 202
 'Offerings,' 88
 Oil, house of, 286
 Orientation, 352-3

P

- Palace of Herod, 7
 Palestine, a Roman Province, 30, 33, 63, 93
 Parties, Jewish, 33 etc.
 Parvah, chamber, 312
 Pastophoria, 68, 242, 250
 Paul in the Temple, 118, 122, 162, 285
 „ on the 'stairs,' 262
 Pentecost, the place of, 114
 Pharisee and Publican, the, 87, 297
 Pharisees, the, 30, 33
 Physician of the Temple, 41
 Pilgrims to the Temple, 35, 103

Pillars, 246, 253, 255, 279
 'Pinnacle,' the, 55, 68, 251
 Plan of the Temple, 21, 189, 190
 Plans of the Temple, conventional, 176
 Police, Levitical, 63, 327
 Pompey in the Temple, 11, 268
 Pool of Bethesda, 80
 „ Hezekiah, 332
 „ Siloam, 331
 Pools, Solomon's, 333
 Porch, Solomon's, 13, 197
 Porches of the Gate, 96, 317
 Portico, the double 252 etc.
 „ Solomon's (see Solomon's Portico)
 Prætorium, the, 264 note
 Presentation of the infant Jesus, 54, 285
 Pride of race, Jewish, 185, 203
 Priests in the Temple, 21, 35, 52, 66, 298, 321, 324-7
 Procurators, Roman, 65
 Prospect gate, 215
 'Pulpit,' the, 300-1

Q

Quirinius, 17, 53, 144

R

Rainfall, 336-7
 Reverence, decline of, 320-2, 325, 353
 Roadways, 217, 220, 305, 313, 329
 Robinson's Bridge, 243
 Roman government in Palestine, 30, 33, 63, 93, 119, 263
 „ procurators, 65
 „ triumph, 155, 157
 Roofs, 325
 Royal portico (see Stoa Basilica)

S

Sacrifices, 36, 65, 311, 319
 Sacrificial animals, 219, 284, 305, 307, 309, 317
 Sadducees, the, 30, 34

Sakhrah Stone, the, 20, 190, 315, 338, 340, 345, 348
 Sanctuary gate, 217
 Sanhedrin, the, 21, 62-3, 93, 95, 97-8, 102, 283, 292-4
 Scripture, knowledge of, 299
 Sea level, elevations above, 338
 Sebaste (Sebastieh), 7
 Second Temple, 11-13, 184, 226, 348, 352
 Selah, 304
 Sepulchre, David's, 46
 Seven-branched candlestick, 43, 155
 Shechinah, the, 327
 Sheep gate, 80, 218
 Shewbread, 43
 Shushan gate, 265
 Sicarii, the, 129, 133
 Siloam, pool of, 331
 Site of the Temple, 15, 16, 145, 183, 227, 260, 339, 340, 346, 348, 351
 Slaying of sacrificial animals, 307, 309, 317
 Smoke of the sacrifices, 319
 Solomon's Pools, 333
 „ Portico, 12, 21, 24, 26, 47, 54, 72, 81, 85, 94, 114, 197, 300
 „ Porch, 13, 197
 „ Stables, 224, 242
 „ Temple, 13, 184, 186, 346-8, 352
 Song, gate of, 202, 299
 Soreg, the Inner—eastern limit of the Naos, 297
 Soreg, the Middle—its twelfth step, 87
 „ „ „ separating the Gentile Portico, 123
 „ „ „ height of, 176
 „ „ „ position of, 180
 „ „ „ width of, 188-9

Soreg, the Middle—approach to, 238
 " " " construction of, 275-81
 " " " its fourteen steps, 297
 " " " reticulation of, 375
 " " " illustration of, 277
Soreg, the Outer—enclosing the *Chel*, 226 f.
 Specifications, schedule of, 355
 Standards of measurement, 16, 180, 182, 185, 187, 190, 278
 Steps in the Temple Enclosure, 20, 189, 191, 207, 292, 297, 306, 326
 Stoa Basilica, 241 etc., 252
 Stone, the Warning, 127, 177, 277, 279
 Store-rooms, 307, 314
 Stoves, house of (see Beth Moked)
 Strato's Tower, 6, 77, 221
 Substructions, 16, 228, 242, 339
 Subterranean passages, 77, 221, 223, 233, 246, 326, 329, 332
 Sun Worship, 65, 353
 Symbolism, the Temple in, 160 etc.
 Synagogues, worship in, 36, 63

T

Tabernacle, the, 183
 Tadi gate, 220, 223, 233, 234
 Temple, Herod's, barriers in, 19 etc., 84-5, 123, 230, 298
 " " building of, 10, 12-14, 16, 28, 37, 39, 44, 47, 129, 131, 275
 " " chambers in, 285, 287, 312-13, 315, 317, 327, 344

Temple, Herod's, children in, 63, 65
 " " concourse of people in, 37, 51, 65, 288
 " " courts of, 19 etc., 50, 190, 238
 " " damage to, 60, 62
 " " dedication of, 44, 47, 129
 " " defences of, 260
 " " drainage of, 336, 348
 " " duration of, 28
 " " feasting in, 25, 287, 293
 " " foundations of, 16, 90
 " " furniture of, 43, 155, 308, 311, 321
 " " gates of, 194 etc., 199, 207, 257
 " " guardians of, 51, 205, 207
 " " Herod's chamber in, 13, 44
 " " Judas in, 26, 105
 " " levels of, 140, 190, 338, 340
 " " lepers in, 21, 286
 " " lighting of, 22, 50, 321
 " " measurements of, 187
 " " night in, 83, 94, 98
 " " orientation of, 352-3
 " " Paul in, 118, 122, 162, 285
 " " physician of, 41
 " " pilgrims to, 35, 103

- Temple, Herod's, plan of, 21,
 189, 190
 " " plan, conven-
 tional, 176
 " " police of, 35,
 63, 327
 " " Pompey in, 11,
 268
 " " priests in, 21,
 35, 52, 66,
 298, 321,
 324-7
 " " pulpit in,
 300-1
 " " Roman over-
 sight of, 119,
 263
 " " sacrifices in, 36,
 65
 " " site of, 15, 16,
 145, 183, 227,
 260, 339, 340,
 346, 348, 351
 " " Soregs in (see
 Soreg)
 " " steps in, 20,
 189, 191, 207,
 292, 297, 306,
 326
 " " symbolism of,
 160 etc.
 " " traffic in, 54,
 71, 82, 87
 " " treasures of,
 307, 320
 " " veils of, 42,
 307, 320
 " " walls of, 194
 " " water supply
 of, 191, 201,
 230, 259, 291
 303, 305, 309,
 330
 " " worship in,
 36, 43, 56,
 297
 Temple, Solomon's, 13, 184, 186,
 346-8, 352
 Temple, the Second, 11-13, 184,
 226, 348, 352
 Temptation of Jesus, the, 55,
 68, 251
 Threshing-floor of Araunah, the,
 345
 Timber round Jerusalem, 268
 Tools, iron, 41
 Traffic in the Temple, 54, 71, 82,
 87
 Treasures of the Temple, 307,
 320
 Treasury Court, the, 21, 55, 81,
 84, 156, 190, 283, 289, 301
 Triumph, Roman, 155, 157
 Tyropœan bridge, 243, 258
- U
- Uncovering of the head, 40
 " " feet, 41
 Upper gate, 200
- V
- Vaults, 235
 Veils of the Temple, the, 42,
 307, 320
 Vine, the golden, 81, 89
- W
- Wages of the builders, 17, 18,
 46, 254
 Walls of the Temple, 194
 Warning Stone, the, 127, 177,
 277, 279
 Warren's gate, 257-8
 Washing of sacrificial animals,
 219
 Water gate, 199, 201, 310
 " libations of, 80
 " supply of the Temple, 191,
 201, 230, 259, 291, 303,
 305, 309, 330
 Wicket gates, 204, 316
 Wilson's gate, 257
 Windows, 278, 327
 Wine, libations of, 351
 Women, court of the, 21, 55, 81,
 84, 140, 190, 238, 283, 289

Women, gates of, 199, 202, 210, 299	X
Wood house, the, 287	Xystus, the, 259
Worship in the Synagogue, 36, 63	Z
„ „ Temple, 36, 43, 56, 297	Zacharias, 26, 52
	Zealots, the, 132, 136

